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EXERCISES,

POLITICAL AND OTHERS.

27577 a.c

By Lieut. Colonel T. Perronet Thompson.

Consisting of matter previously published with and without the author's name, and of some not published before.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

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Second Edition.

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PREFACE

TO ALL THE VOLUMES.

THE first impression on review of this publication, part of which dates from a considerable time back, is the very slight degree in which circumstances are substantially altered. Like the mounted sentries at the Horse Guards, they might be taken for the same instead of a succession; so like in all important points is the new face of things to the old. It may not be John, it may be Robert, whose feet are actually in the stirrups; but Robert and John are one, in the eyes of the rustic spectator who looks only to the general effect.

Scarcely any great quarrel existed at the earliest period referred to, of which the roots are not as much in the ground as ever, though some of the stalks have been pulled up. The argument on the Catholic Question, may be re-read with a transference to Church Monopolies of other kinds; and the agitation preceding the Reform Bill, may hold a lantern to show how little has been accomplished, and how much thrown away.

In the department of Political Economy, something like a manual for one side of the struggle at this moment at its height, may be collected from the subjects and quotations introduced.

On what has obtained the name of the "Greatest-Happiness Principle," a continued discussion will be found kept up. The writer would be glad to think he had availed to make the subject clearer, to any of those who profess to find difficulties in the style or matter of the original propounder.

On the Military System of Napoleon, he has endeavoured to collect and compress, what might be sought and perhaps missed, in the pages of bulletins and the comments of friends and foes. On some military questions of detail, articles and observation will be found, which must owe any interest, to having been framed under the guidance of experiment, and published generally with some view to the advancement of the liberal cause.

On the principles of Geometry as connected with the *vexata quæstio* of the Theory of Parallels, inquiries will be found which, like those of the alchemists, lead to useful results though without implying a claim to general success. On the mathematics of Music, observations and experiments will be met with, which when the tide shall set in that direction, may be turned to the improvement of the executive branch of Harmony.

The documents connected with Sierra Leone point to remarkable facts in the history of that colony. The Treaty of January

1820 in the Persian Gulph, is a transcript of the first public act in which the Slave Trade was written down Piracy.

The "Letters of a Representative" were written to the constituency of Hull, during a short period of sitting in parliament. That the consequence on the first opportunity was permanent exclusion from the House of Commons, by the exertions at different times and places of the leaders of almost every class assuming the name of Liberals, may be not without its value to such as may ever employ themselves in raking among the characteristics of the times. *Eight* Conservatives, with more or less directness, were introduced in part of process; of whom five were on the benches at once, making a difference of ten upon the votes, being within two or three of some of the majorities by which the Whigs were expelled from office.

On Irish questions, the author has gone as close to the enemy, as any sane leader could desire. The return made him, was fierce attack from the "boys" of Kilkenny, when he was seen ridden over as in the way of the compact by which three kingdoms were turned over to the Tories.

Both in those Letters, and others to various portions of the public press which follow, useful references will be found to gone-by events, and to the feelings and arguments by which they were attended. If proof is sometimes presented of the prudence of dealing with enemies as if they were some day to be friends, and with friends as if they were to be enemies, there can be nothing surprising in finding a precept of antiquity confirmed by the experience of the passing hour.

On one point, an observation may be serviceable. The writer adhered to the people called Chartists, till they denounced him in their gazette and added the enormous childishness of telling the House of Commons they wanted an edge tool and wanted it to cut the givers' throats. On such adhesion, there will of course be a diversity of opinions; but there are always enough to quit the party of the poor, the moment abiding by it will make an unfavourable balance of twenty votes at an election. The observation intended was, that much of what the Chartists did not use, might be found cut and dried for any other portion of the public, who should apply themselves to compass a substantial and not a mock Reform.

To A. S., J. S., and S. B., Esqs., the survivors of the friends mentioned in the Appendix, the thanks of the writer are due, for the readiness with which they permitted the use of Articles in which a mixture of hands was concerned.

Blackheath, London. 1 August, 1842.

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ERRATA.

In Vol. I. p. 368, *line* 25, *for* nigh *read* high.

In Vol. II. p. 136, *line* 5, *for* Chapter XVII *read* Chapter XVIII.
p. 217, *last word, for* ou *read* no.
p. 224, head line, for *Supplement to Article on* read *Supplement to Article on Silk and Glove Trades.*

In Vol. III. p. 97, bottom line, for *Imprisonment* read *Impressment.*
p. 175, *line* 36. *for* inferrible *read* inferible.
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p. 433, *line* 35, *dele* * *at the end.*

In Vol. IV. p. 63. *line* 2. *for* 1838 *read* 1836.
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In Vol. VI. p. 67 *and p.* 90, two Letters to the *Editor of the Statesman* should be transposed; as is apparent from their dates.

END OF INDEX.

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(Continued from Vol. V.)

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XIV.

Danger of Retaliation from Foreign Countries.

Sir,—Though the objects are as yet only dimly looming through the darkness of futurity, it may occur to any thinking man to ask what the consequences may be, if the two powerful governments which have been irritated by the irrational direction given to British instruments in the East, should make common cause to put the same measure upon our government which it has been putting upon others. For if France has been wantonly, treacherously, and insolently insulted and abused, by raking up and letting loose upon her all the bad passions which it was hoped had slept till they knew no waking;—threatening her territory, sending spies into her ports and military stations with directions to make every aggrieving and wounding report which rancour could devise, all of which if not done by the direct order and permission of the government, was the inevitable and direct consequence of what the government ordered and permitted;—if France has been excited by this, Russia on the other hand has not been the quiet gull our simpletons chuckled over, but though for reasons known to herself she saw no place for immediate resistance, has been biding her time for paying herself with interest for forbearance.

Imagine then it should turn out, that Russia and France, as why should they not, had formed the idea of uniting to come down on Great Britain with some demand of the nature of those which Britain has been fond of imposing upon others, but with the addition in the present instance, of having the justification of retribution. Suppose, for instance,

they were to agree to demand that England should refund the expenses which France has been put to by the wanton breach of amicable relations arising out of the transactions in the East. What would be the result if such a demand were urged, with all the impressiveness that could be given to it by the union of two of the greatest military and naval powers? What could Austria and Prussia, the miserable remnants of the new Holy Alliance, do towards dissipating such a combination? They would be too happy, if by keeping silence they could escape the danger of being shorn of their provinces to the North and South by the two great combining powers. What then would be the result, but either submission, or protracted war? And under what circumstances? I see some provincial journal seriously speculating, upon the comparative smallness of the damage which would have been inflicted on us by the successes of Napoleon at Waterloo and his consequent preponderance, weighed against what was inflicted by our own landowners as the result of their success. Napoleon, it argues, might have eased us of a few colonial trades, which are bought at the expense of trades in other directions twice as good; but he would hardly have proceeded to lay a permanent embargo upon commerce, as in a few short months was done by our internal enemies. With such feelings as this within our borders, is there no danger of what might follow from the policy of an enemy operating on our domestic ills? If submission then was an evil, would war with any more certainty be a good? And suppose an *unsuccessful* war; for he must be a baby who goes to war with a persuasion that he can have nothing dealt but trumps. What an interminable vista of ills, is held out in that word!

And here the question will occur; Why,—to please whom or what,—were all these dangers incurred? For what necessity, what overwhelming cause, was the peace which had been growing over Europe till it seemed a part of its life, destroyed and broken up? And in particular, for what reason were the wounds which five-and-twenty years had scarcely been sufficient to heal between ourselves and France, torn open and revived? Was there some invasion, some attack, some insult, which left no room for calculation, and hurried us to ill? History will relate that there was none; that in a time of the profoundest peace, the downiest repose of general confidence, folly the most incalculable and wickedness the most unrestrained, calculating on the weakness of a lamentable form of government or more properly of none, plunged us into this mass of evils for the present and perils for the future,

as a ship, a house, a farm, would run to inevitable ruin, if left without check or control in the hands of the imbecile, the ignorant, and the dishonest.

How opposite is all this to the situation of a country, which should have a rational government, placed in the hands of rational men, and under rational control;—a government, in short, where there should be as much care of the general concern, as is taken by the owners of every bark that leaves a port, under provisions for securing its being reasonably navigated, and reasonably directed towards the owners' interests and the avoidance of their harm!

What can the well-meaning and cautious provincial Whigs, who have little to get for themselves out of the pickings of office mismanaged, say in defence of such a manifest risking of the greatest evils for the trumpery gratification of a few silly lords? But it is neither your business nor mine, to settle what the Whigs can say. Our more useful office is, to make the most of the lesson read to us, that Whigs and Tories are but, as the Roman general said, the same pork dressed different fashions,— the flesh of the same kind of swine, equally ready to pillage, to root up, and to destroy. Such has been the ending of the dynasty of Whig Reformers. As all evil has its limits, let us in patience possess our souls, till we see the course the world's good genius will take for its relief.

London, 7 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. VII.

How goes it with the Dissenters?—Assumption of the Papacy for the Church of England.

Sir,—Your question of "How goes it with the Dissenters?" moves me to reply as you will yourself, "Wofully indeed." Like other men who practise time-serving, and look about for ways of doing their business by halves, the end will come upon them before they thought they were at the beginning. By what instigation of the dæmon moved, it is impossible to say, but while the Dissenters were supporting themselves against the dread of doing too much, their enemy was planning the laying the axe to their root. Perhaps it may have reached you by this time, that the Church of England has assumed the Triple Crown. Mitres were heavy enough in the gone-by times; but the Archbishop of Canter-

bury is declared the true Pope. There was a mistake and there was no mistake. There was no mistake in thinking St. Peter had left a successor upon earth with the power of the keys. The mistake was in thinking him at Rome; whereas the real Simon was at Canterbury.

The Romish church says, there can be no church, no priesthood, no sound doctrine, but under a regular unbroken descent all the way from Christ by the laying on of hands. Bishop must have procreated bishop, with priests and deacons to fill up; and without this, there can be no true faith. If a ship had been driven to the new world before Columbus, with the bible on board but no beneficed and duly-handled man to start a race of teachers by the needful manipulation, it would have been like preaching vaccination with none of the remedy in store. The hand of man and not the word of God, is the one thing needful and which nothing can supply.

The Church of England says the same, with the addition that because it quitted its inoculators the Romish priesthood under their loudest curse and protest, it carried off the whole secret, and left the procreators none. Howqua and Mowqua struggling for the true Bohea,—the real Hygeist Morison contending with the pseudo-doctor Gordon for the only Vegetable Pills,—are emblems of the squabble going on between the two churches; with the addition that be the matter claimed a reality or not, the Anglicans have plainly got the worst case of the two.

It would be absurd to think the Dissenters had got halfway yet, towards the stage where men begin to look about them for something serious to be done. There must be half a dozen new parliaments yet, if those mounted clergymen the dragoons keep their hands off them so long, before the Dissenters will do anything but bid, like the Corn Law repealers of Manchester, for the man who is surest to do nothing.

That there are among them some of the caste of the old "hill-folk," is not to doubt. But these are buried among cold and half-hearted people, full of all manner of jobs of their own and afraid of acting against the Church job for fear of hurting them. A sort of *Poundtexts*, their ambition is to prose at the head of a meeting, without endangering their creature comforts. They fear nothing so much as anybody who would do anything; lest he should "damage the cause." Like Lord Palmerston, they are always cooking something in a little pipkin they are afraid of being upset; and like him, a rueful and ridiculous conclusion they will arrive at. If your Scottish ancestors had been equally supine, Jenny Geddes

would have had "the mass read in her lug," as we are having it in England already.

Next to the prohibition of commerce, the oppression exercised by the Non-national Church is the sorest evil in the country. You are therefore right in looking on it as one of the first points to which the Chartists will direct their eyes, so soon they have digested their efforts for a reasonable co-operation with others.

London, 6 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Midland Counties Illuminator.

No. II.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE UNIVERSAL JUSTICE.—THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT BE WORSE.

SIR,—The arguments are so worn, and have been so often repeated, which go to prove Universal Suffrage to be the only thing which has universal justice in it, that an apology may almost be necessary for introducing the subject to your pages. But as the Scripture describes the office of a scribe as consisting in bringing forth things "new and old," you may consider me now as endeavouring to fulfil my duty in the latter line.

Men are always ready to boast, when nothing is to come of it. There is scarcely a Tory-Conservative journal in existence, and certainly not a Whig, which has not at some time flourished upon the declaration that taxation is coincident with representation. But when it comes to be examined what they mean, it will be found they are all ready to maintain that taxation ought *not* to be coincident with representation, or which comes to the same thing, representation with taxation. They are prepared to show, to the full satisfaction of their subscribers respectively, that the said subscribers are the very lowest class to whom representation ought to be extended. They see great cause of alarm, in any one below that mark, being taxed by his consent. Like the Pope who could bear two Popedoms, they feel fully able to undertake the responsibility of settling what shall be taxes and law, both for themselves and their neighbours under them.

Now the strongest reason why this conclusion of theirs should be doubted, is that all men, without exception, doubt

whether anybody knows when they are taken care of so well as themselves. And for this reason it is, that whatever may be the self-complacency of the possessors of the suffrage, there will always be an assemblage of dissatisfied doubters beneath. And to make the best use of this dissatisfaction, and turn it both to the advancement of its own relief and to the promotion of good and honest government besides, is the great problem which, if anybody meddled with such problems now o' days, a statesman should resolve.

The principal argument against Universal Suffrage as it is put, is, by asking the following question or questions.—Have the numerous classes all knowledge or enough knowledge; and if the suffrage was in their hands, would not the other classes, and the management of the country in general, be at their mercy?

The answers to this are, That if they have not all knowledge, they have all suffering; which makes a very potent reason, why they should at all events have a very effective power of making their sufferings known, and enforcing a remedy. And next, That nobody on reflection believes, that the numerous classes having the suffrage, would cause the other classes to be without influence or power. On the contrary the evidence of experience is, that the numerous classes are only too apt to run after the opinions of the other classes to the injury of themselves. The Tory trembles lest if the numerous classes had the suffrage, they should be all Whig, while the Whig declares his apprehension, that the consequence would be the confirming of all Tory evils; and thus the two classes of Conservatives agree in finding a reason for keeping things as they are. Thirdly and lastly, there is not the smallest danger whatever, of seeing the thing done so rapidly, as not to leave ample time for all the increase of knowledge and discretion, which might make the numerous classes quite as able legislators as their predecessors. A parliament of coal-heavers would not have stopped British trade like the Tories; and a House of hand-loom weavers would not have made such needless and disgraceful foreign wars as the Whigs. There is no fear whatever upon this point. The position of things is most happy for alteration,—it is impossible for them to be worse.

The great truth which will first or last bring this dispute into a course of adjustment, is that the latest portions of society brought into possession of the suffrage, have *not* an interest in keeping the others out, but in bringing them in; and this they will find out, whatever their opinions now, in

proportion as they advance in intelligence and the habit of thinking for themselves. The tendency of this may be to produce its effect by steps, and not what the learned call *per saltum* or all at one jump. But if the tendency is there, like other tendencies founded in the constitution of things it will produce its effects in the end.

London, 7 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. XLII.

THE NON-REPRESENTED AND THE CORN LAWS.—OPERATIVE ANTI-CORN-LAW SOCIETIES.

SIR,—I observe a letter in your last, headed "On the best means of obtaining the Charter." Without intimating the slightest disagreement with the contents, I will seize the opportunity for pushing out some thoughts which have long occupied me on the same subject.

The "best means of obtaining the Charter," were that the Chartists should show themselves worthy of it, or if the expression is preferred, should prove to the other classes of society that they could safely be trusted with it. For instance, society had a right to ask, where these men would have been found, if they had possessed a voice on past questions in which the honest feelings of the public were involved. It had a right to inquire, how such questions as that of the Slave Trade, of the liberation of commerce, or of a cheap postage, would have been affected if all who demand voices now, had possessed them before. Would the good and honest side have had supporters and recruits; or would there have been a letting-in of the ignorance and turbulence of a mob, not acting perhaps in the same direction, but as little to be trusted for useful political action, as the Church and King mobs of 1791? Since extension of the suffrage is only useful as it may be directed to useful purposes, those who were appealed to as having something dependent on their consent, had a right to weigh all those things in their minds, and to shape their conduct accordingly.

If any man asks himself what has been done towards answering these inevitable questions, it is impossible for

him to conceal, that everything has been done which could tend to hinder the real and honest Chartists from obtaining their objects or approaching to it. What we Chartists had to do, was to come into the field quietly, and show that, in your country phrase, we could "behave ourselves." There were doubts against us on that point; and it was our business to show they were unfounded. The public wanted to be satisfied, whether we knew good from evil; whether we had honest sympathies for what great and good men had done in times gone by, and consequently could be trusted for the future. If anybody thinks these doubts were insolent and absurd, I only wish so much had not been done to justify them.

There is no use in denying it. The Chartists have hitherto exhibited themselves as if determined to promote every alarm, crush every favourable expectation, which could have existed in the minds of other portions of the community. For this they have to blame their guides; but they were the guides they chose to follow. One grand opening there was for the oppressed multitude to bestir themselves against their tyrants, on a point where the popular voice has always been terrible, the limitation of their bread. *Everybody*, was prepared to join them, except those who had the abuse to defend. And on this point, marked out as if by Providence to be the key to the assault by the suffering non-represented, their guides had influence, for their use of which God and their own consciences must be their judge, to persuade their rank and file to make a positive refusal to advance. Because their complaint was they had no political power, and because on one particular question half the nation, though depressed by inequalities in the representation like themselves, were ready to join them,—their guides had the power to persuade them, that the point where they had no power at all, was the point they must carry, as the means of carrying the other where they had half the public to help already. So gross a mal-reasoning, never entered into the head of any man with the genius of a lance-corporal. But all blunders have their day, if we can only live to see them out. The Chartists have run their heads against this wall, till it is high time that some of them should find out the mistake. And such in fact appears to be the case. At Coventry I am informed a Chartist leader has roundly declared, he sees the Charter cannot be carried. It is pity but this could have been found out three years ago, and the time might have been passed in carrying what would have cleared the way. Is there a sensible man at this moment,

who looks forward to the time when the so-called representatives in Parliament, unbroken by previous application of the pick-axe to aristocratical abuses, and piece-meal demolition of the sources of their maintenance, shall come forward and vote by a majority, that "the People's Charter now do pass"? A most extraordinary head must such man have; a prize to the phrenologists.

In several parts of the country I perceive the outbreak of what call themselves Operative Anti-Corn-Law Societies. This is taking the thing by the right end. But why not call them Chartist Anti-Corn-Law Societies? Why not avow boldly, that because we are Chartists, *therefore* we attack the Corn Laws. The moderates as they style themselves, will tell us we ought not to avow our plan; but very little is got by such concealments, and it is better to avow a plan than to have no plan at all. This then, with the addition of a resolution to demonstrate on other the like occasions that the Chartists know good from evil and are determined to take the good,—is my view of "the best means of obtaining the Charter." If your Leeds Association for Reform had tried to bring this forward, it would probably have done better than engaging a public assembly in a trial of strength on the merits of an individual politician.

London, 7 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XI.

WOULD AMERICA TAKE OUR MANUFACTURES?—MASTERS SHOULD GIVE MORE WAGES.—WOULD NOT LAND BE THROWN OUT OF CULTIVATION?—ARE THERE NOT THOUSANDS OF ACRES UNCULTIVATED?

SIR,—The next point I will advert to, which arose in the discussions that followed the Lecture on the Corn Laws, is the assertion that America (or any other country which may be substituted) would *not* take our manufactures if the Corn Laws were repealed.

And here it can only be matter of guess, what the objection may mean. Does it mean, that America would not take

from the Nottingham trader, the hosiery which she would be glad to take now if he could afford it at the same price as the Saxon, which he could do if the Corn Law would let him? Or does it mean that the Hamburgh merchant would not take the things which he offers to take now at a price that would suit him, but on which no bargain can be made because the English captain cannot carry back a return cargo in corn? Either of these is manifestly absurd, and no man can be found to acknowledge he meant it. The objection is a volley of words without meaning. Nobody wants to sell what he cannot, but what he could;—what he could sell now, what foreigners would be begging of him and fighting for if he could accept the price which the removal of the Corn Laws would let him. We want to be allowed to trade where we find ourselves now shut out by two notable bars, the inability to sell as low as our rivals, and the inability to bring home return cargoes in what would pay;—and then we are coolly told, "Gentlemen, do not trouble yourselves; take our word for it, if you could sell lower, the only consequence would be that people would not buy; and if you might receive from them what they could best afford you in return, the end would only be that they would refuse to deal with you at all." The whole objection smacks of tyranny; it is fit only for a Holy Alliance; it savours of the monstrosity of men's treatment of those whom they have previously determined to oppress.

Some simple body, it appears, cried out, "The hosiers should not give so little wages, and then we should get more bread!" And so the hosiers are to run against foreign manufacturers, and pay out of their own pockets the difference in the price of corn. So easy it is to delude the ignorant and the poor. For what would this be but saying, that the hosiers are to support the landowners out of their trade, and the operatives be no worse for it. How long, it might be inquired, is the hosier bound to go on? May he stop when he makes no profits at all? May he stop when he loses ten per cent? May he stop when he has spent half what he had saved in better times? May he stop when he has spent it all? Or is he bound to borrow money to go on with after he is worse than nothing; and if he is, are other people bound to lend it him? This plan is like nothing but the insect which hatches in a caterpillar's back, and never leaves him till he is an empty skin.

A stone-mason thinks the fault is in capital being represented and not labour. The miserable fact is, that land is represented, and therefore we are doomed to fast. And if

labour were represented as desired, what would the labourers decree? Would they decree that "the three-hoop'd pot should have four hoops"? or that five men should have a peck a-piece out of a bushel? But if they would not, what could they do but enact that men should trade where they might, that they should eat what they could get, that they should cease to be shut up like rats in a cage to breed against a given quantity of food. Strange is the phænomenon, wonderful the conclusion, that the rats should look at everything for the cause of their misery, except the bars.

The dread that a large portion of English land might be thrown out of cultivation by opening a free trade in grain, is like the dread inculcated by the landlords of selling to foreigners for two bushels of wheat instead of to the landlords for one. It cannot happen but to the great advantage of the community. The public might as well have been threatened in the palmy days of highwaymen, that a great many highwaymen's beats would become valueless by the establishment of a horse-patrole. If the thing is so, it is because it ought to be. If land is thrown out of cultivation, it is because we got one bushel of corn from the land by paying for it the price of two; and because we now get two bushels instead of one, by buying it somewhere else. As well grieve over putting down the butter-woman who gives bad weight in the market, and say "Here is a fine trade in butter ruined, by making us give over buying where we were cheated." If a tax were put exclusively on home-grown corn, how much would the landlords grieve over the loss of the sale of manufactures abroad which was the consequence; and how long might we look before we found them sighing over the loss of foreign trade which would arise from altering it?

But it so happens that it is exceedingly doubtful, whether the land thrown out of cultivation would be much or any; in which the rogues are luckier than they deserve. The probability is, that in some places the land would be more profitable than ever, in some much the same, and in some less. That there are bad lands and badly situated, which nothing can make pay but giving double for the crop, is no reason why a nation should pay double for its bread. Land is a machine; and if the manufacturers were to ask to have double prices in order that their bad machines might pay, they would be hooted out of the world.

One point I will advert to, which I think I have seen in looking over this discussion, though I cannot readily turn to it again; and that is, the notion that there are acres upon acres

of land in this country which could be cultivated if people chose. If they could be cultivated, why are they not? What is meant by being cultivated? Cultivated with a profit; for nobody will do anything without. If then they can be cultivated with a profit, why are they not? Are not the landlords, as I see stated, applying "chemical salves" to their bad land, to squeeze out of it what will cause it to make both ends meet under the existing dishonest price of corn? What possible reason then is there to believe, that they are letting hundreds of thousands of acres, as have been sometimes stated, be profitless, when they or their advisers could bring them into profitable cultivation if they chose? If the landlords do not know how and somebody else does, why does not that somebody buy land and try; the landlords will sell cheap what brings them in little or nothing now. I am afraid nobody thinks they could cultivate, but those who have not money to try. Would it not in truth be as reasonable to say, that pine-apples might be as cheap as gooseberries, because there are hundreds and thousands of hot-houses that people might make if they chose? Is it not a trade, and has been all our lives, to raise as many pine-apples as can be sold with a profit; and if the gardeners do not raise more, with all their chemical inventions, is it likely that it is only because the websters and hosiers do not set about it themselves? Suppose the farmers were to say, they know that hundreds and thousands of manufactories might be established in this country and find employment for all the workmen in it, if only men would do it. Would one be any greater absurdity than the other?

I note by the way, that surely it must be a mistake to think that William Cobbett was the author of the advice that the people of England should live on "coarser food." He took up the phrase, and tongued it over in his damning way; but surely he was the mocker and despiser of those who recommended it, and not the prompter.

London, 7 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XIV.

Why the Chartists should help to put down the Corn Laws.

Sir,—Observing in several parts of the country the formation of what are denominated Operative Anti-Corn-Law Societies, I consider the opportunity favourable for introducing through a journal distinguished for largeness of view and directness of purpose, an inquiry, by no means new from me, into the policy by which the well-wishers of the Charter have been practically guided.

After setting aside as an inconsiderable portion (which was really the case, though it included some of the leaders), the part who desired to support the Corn Laws in the abstract, the great question for decision was, whether the monopoly of corn, or of the representation, was the thing that would most easily and probably be broken through; for it was plain that either, if effected, would give a violent shake to the other. On one side, therefore, stood the unrepresented operatives, the pith of whose complaint was that they had no political power, and that they conceived everybody else to have an interest of their own against them; and on the other stood a large, influential, daily-increasing body, amounting to nearly if not quite a half of the active politicians in the country, though considerably crippled by bad laws and institutions in the exercise of their fair share of power, with whom the operatives might have joined if they liked. The question was, whether men whose complaint was that they were nobody and wanted to be somebody, were most likely to attain their end by descanting on the earnestness of their desires and the greatness of their wants, or by joining with other men who were somebody already, and who could not have well refused giving them credit for at least the good-will which prompted to the junction.

But if this throws any light on the impolicy of the course actually followed, additional circumstances enhanced the effect. If there were some of the assailants of the Corn Laws to whom the secession of the Chartists was a grief, there were others to whom it was a matter of joy and exultation. The most prominently active form anywhere taken by the opposition to the Corn Laws, was practically a local job, with the

object of accumulating a portion of parliamentary and political interest in the hands of the chief functionaries and performers, and with one special view among others, which was to get rid of the alliance with the suspected friends of the Chartist cause. They dreaded the effect which might arise from the Chartists or their friends climbing into notoriety through the instrumentality of opposition to the Corn Laws; and therefore like men wise in their generation, they determined to have it all to themselves.

Under such a combination, it was doubly unfortunate that the Chartists should have fallen into the enemy's snare. That enemy manifestly calculated on doing the thing without them, and then turning round on the Chartists as men who had no claim to any share in the success. He knew too, that the Chartists were in some sort put upon their trial before the country; that when the unrepresented asked for representation, the first question from myriads of influential people would be whether they were fit for it; whether they could be trusted to assist in the progress of useful reforms, or would be found refusing to look after anybody's interests but their own; whether, for example, they would have aided in putting down the Slave Trade, cutting down the obstacles to freedom of trade, and giving us a cheap postage, or whether they would have been found traversing all those movements, for some avowedly selfish purpose, or worst of all on the principle of a general declaration that no good should be done by anybody till something was conceded which the numerous classes had at heart. On all these points the enemy was gratified to the top of his bent. Had he possessed the command of the adjutant-general's office of the popular forces, and thence directed their movements, they could not more accurately have worked his will. There was no point of the enemy's chusing, on which the unrepresented were not exactly and diligently led. Is this system to last; or has it had its time?

I see that at Coventry a Chartist leader has broken out, and says he perceives the Charter cannot be carried. Surely he might have found that out sooner; but if he sees it now, will he act? Will he, without waiting first to convert all whose day of vision may be farther off, apply himself to prove his consciousness of the snare into which he and his companions have been led, and form a Chartist Anti-Corn-Law Society within his borders? We must put down the Corn Laws *because* we are Chartists. And because it is our interest so to do, there is no miracle in its being the interest

of somebody else to keep us from it. The question only is, whether we are bound to do our own work or theirs.

London, 7 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XII.

CONTROVERSY ON MACHINERY.—RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN THE QUESTIONS OF MACHINERY AND FREE TRADE.

SIR,—I am glad to have drawn out our friends of the Nottingham Charter Association; because fair and friendly discussion is the only road by which truth can be arrived at. We are all of us right when we are able, and wrong only when we cannot help it; and no man can have any positive assurance of the soundness of his belief, except seeing how far it stands the wear and tear of objections and of practice.

There has been a misunderstanding in the outset, in supposing I said "machinery was intended for nature's remedy." I said "the remedy of nature's appending, was that as fast as machinery made easier the production of any kind of manufactured goods, just so fast would it increase the facility with which that kind of goods could be employed, in foreign commerce if it were free." I did not say machinery was the remedy; but that *free trade* was the remedy, provided to counteract the effects of machinery upon the operatives, the tail to whisk away the flies, till man chose to cut it off. Furs and fish-oil are not machinery, but provisions of nature to relieve the rigours of the climate, either by using them directly or by making trade with them; and I said that to complain of the climate and refuse to use the provisions made by nature to alleviate it, would be mal-reasoning of the same kind as had seized upon the operatives.

I doubt the accuracy of the inference, that if anybody "knows anything about machinery and its operations, he must know that it does not operate to the advantage of society in general, at least as far as the productive classes are concerned:" and among other grounds for doubting, is the reason that is given for it. That an operative who should produce a machine by which he could do two hours' work in one, would be sure (bating distant consequences) to be reduced to the same wages as before, is no evidence at all of what it is brought by our friends to prove.

In the first place it is among possible things, that whatever becomes of the inventor individually, the invention may be the cause of employment for operatives both present and unborn, to any number which can be assigned. The invention of the stocking-frame, which tradition has attributed to a clergyman reduced to want, made the trade of Nottingham and half a dozen other places besides. If stockings could only have been knit with fingers, it is a terrible mistake to think there would have been as many people employed in stocking-making as now. There would have been a fiftieth part of the stockings, and perhaps a fifth part of the workmen. To take a more striking instance still, a pair of silk stockings was presented to Queen Elizabeth, and estimated as equal to their weight in gold. Suppose a man were employed a twelvemonth in making these with his fingers; that is to say, he got three hundred and sixty-five days' wages, or which would be nearly the same thing, three hundred and sixty-five men got a day's wages each for one pair of stockings. What glorious work for stocking-makers! But stop a little. How many pairs were made at the same price? There was perhaps not another woman in the land, who pretended to afford to wear silk stockings; and to a certainty there were not a hundred. Ask then any sensible working silk stocking-maker, whether he would like to see the employment cut down to what it was in the time of Elizabeth.

It is true this is an extreme case; but it shows the principle. It shows that when the production of goods is facilitated by machinery, it is not impossible that a benefit may arise in the end to the operatives in that particular branch, in consequence of the increase of demand; and this without any reference to the question, whether the man who invented a machine to do 365 men's work in the way of silk-stocking making, got 365 men's wages in return.

But there is another way in which the reason given may fall to the ground. The good may not be to the class of operatives where the improvement in machinery takes place, but it may be to some other classes, and the end on the whole be gain. And here the question of Machinery, appears to coincide with that of Free Trade as regards the introduction of foreign manufactures. Buying a foreign manufacture cheaper than it can be made at home, cuts off a trade of the would-be monopolist at home, and gives a trade to the man who makes the goods which must go abroad in payment; the balance of which two things by themselves, is so far a loss of trade equal to the difference of price which the monopolist wanted to

cause to be expended on himself. And to set off against this, there are two gains; the gain to the consumer, who gets something for the difference of price by expending it on somebody that gives him value in return; and the trade so given to that "somebody," who would not have had it under the system of monopoly. And these two gains and one loss, put together amount to one gain; which is only the counterpart of the assertion that on putting all gains and losses together, there would be a general gain by a man's employing a workman with a sharp axe instead of a blunt. In the same manner all that is saved by machinery, is in the first place saved to the consumer, which is gain No. 1; in the second place an equal amount is saved or given to the traders with whom the sum so saved is laid out, for to a certainty the man or woman who pays two shillings instead of three for a pair of stockings, will lay out the shilling with somebody else, which makes gain No. 2. To set off against these two gains, is the shilling lost to the stocking-makers by the use of machinery;—omitting to say anything about the degree, be it more or less, in it which it may be made up to them by an increased demand for cheap stockings. So that taking the statement at the worst, there are two parties' gains for one's loss.

If the stocking-makers say, that they care nothing for other people's gains; that they are conscious they lose, and therefore they will resist while they are able;—in the first place they will resist with no success, they will only kick against the pricks, and for this simple reason, that the interests of two parties in a shilling each, will always overbear the interests of one. But setting this aside,—which shows the hopelessness of resistance, and is in fact the reason why machinery has gone on progressing since the days when the first man thought of digging the ground with a tool instead of his hands, and will go on for ever,—there are two further facts, which are, that the increase of expenditure made upon other trades in consequence of the cheapening made by machinery in every one, is given to all in their turns,—and that the operatives themselves, in their individual capacities, have an interest in the cheapness of all productions except their own. It is not said that this interest is equal to their interest in the dearness of their own, or that it is not; but that it is an interest of some magnitude or other, and ought to count for what it is worth;—therefore let no man amuse himself with finding a mare's nest on this point. They may not have so much interest as those who can spend more; but they have it in proportion to what they can afford to expend.

And if the operatives in all classes could agree to put down machinery as a common nuisance, the general result would be the same as if they could all agree to work with blunt tools. Instead of finding they got the sum of the gains, they would find they got only the difference; and the result would be that they lived just as before, with the exception that they went without the manufactured goods which a greater difficulty of production would debar them from, wore sackcloth instead of cotton however coarse, and wrapped straw-bands round their legs because stockings were not to be brought within a poor man's means.

The belief in the superior happiness of savage life, is one of the mistakes the world is recovering from; the proofs of which are accumulating every day. When the stocking-maker at Nottingham says, "O happy polar men! who have no aristocrats, no money-mongers, no traffickers in human misery," he knows little of what the polar regions are, and would in all probability heartily thank his stars for bringing him back to Bottle-Lane. But this was not the question after all. The question was not which was best; but why Nottingham men are so badly off, and how it can be mended.

Finding I have only got half through the communication of our friends, I purpose to take up the remainder in the same amicable spirit in your next.

London, 6 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. III.

THE CHARTER A MANIFESTO AND A BANNER.

SIR—On looking into the article on the People's Charter in your paper of the 24th December, I cannot help desiring to add my portion of acknowledgment to the justice of its remarks. The Charter is a manifesto and a banner, or as you express it, a rallying point and a centre of attraction. It is in politics what a straight line is in road-making; a thing at which we may never arrive with mathematical severity, but which it is nevertheless wonderfully useful to keep in the head. If there are any who expect to see a day, when the People's Charter shall be debated section by section in a committee of the House of Commons, and Mr. Bernal shall add at the conclusion of each, "The Ayes have

it,"—I am afraid the despondency of those who despair of seeing the removal of the Corn Laws, is but a feeble type of the hopelessness with which many would regard the prospect of that greater millennium. But if there were a dozen men in that house, who would at all times avow the Charter as what they were moving on and meant to move incessantly, supporting all steps which anybody should be inclined to take in that direction, and comparing all partial reforms and bit-by-bit amendments, with the measure of what justice and policy would so plainly demand,—the thing would be put into the course which is really the course of nature and of practice, and of which it perhaps would not be extravagant to say, that to expect to succeed by any other, would be as unreasonable as to have expected to take any novel course for the construction of a Princess Royal.

Universal Suffrage, like everything else, we must get when we are able; and to a certainty, we shall never get it before. The question of questions therefore seems to be, how we are to be able? And how we are to be able, except by using the power of those who have any, to help those who have none,—is, I confess, more than I am able on the spur of the moment to propound. Much of my time has been past in pricking for fallacies; and I cannot help thinking there is something of a fallacy here, if we compare our wishes with our means, and think that intense wishing is to bring the moon to us if we cry for it. We mean to gain our object in time, as sailors have found the North-West Passage. But it must be by making sail and letting go anchor in the right places according to the winds that blow, and not by any accumulation of wishes that cannot pull a rope.

As you further observe, the People's Charter is the proper reply to the Finality of the Whig ministers. The Charter might be published first; but that only made the Finality declaration the more foolish. It was like the declaration of a ship's captain, that he would not go to leeward; whereas everbody knew, the utmost he could do for himself, was to go as little as he could. Lord John Russell tried to sail in the wind's eye, with his Finality declaration; and the end, I hope, will be, that we shall see him broken up and his timbers scattered like those of Pharaoh's chariots upon the beach.

If the friends of the Charter only had the grace of seamanship, there would be a noble opportunity to make a claw to windward out of the misery the War-Whigs have plunged themselves into, while the babies had nobody to take care of them during the recess. The shaking among the dry bones

of parties has been great and ample. No joint fits into the joint it did; and if out of this there does not come something like a resurrection to life, it is pretty plain that death must be continual. The Whig driver has not only upset the coach, but he has blown up the turnpike-road. He has placed us between submission to all the exploded follies and villainies of antiquity, and the discovery of something, in which the friends of the Charter must be feeble if they cannot take a useful part.

In the position to which things have been reduced by the sale made of us by the Whig-Radicals in the House of Commons, it is plain that we are left between the two parties of Whig-Conservatives and Tory-Conservatives, equally wicked, unprincipled, and hostile to the interests of honest people; and that the only resource we have, is always to vote against the party that are in office, unless where they will join in voting for a candidate of our own.

London, 4 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XIII.

Would Household Suffrage destroy the Influence of Towns, and strengthen the Aristocracy?

Sirs,—With your leave I propose to make a kind of retrospect of the controversy in the *Leeds Mercury*, the important substance of which may be summed up in the declaration of that journal, that "the practical effects of Household Suffrage and Equal Electoral Districts would be, to give to the Landed interest an immense and unassailable preponderance; to convert the present Liberal Majority in the House of Commons into a Minority; and to make the Repeal of the Corn Laws utterly hopeless."

On extracting this, it is impossible to help throwing in the question, which I have seen in public prints already, of why the landed interest, represented in the *Mercury* by the Marquis of Chandos, is not found actively and energetically promoting the establishment of Household Suffrage and Equal Electoral Districts.

But, quitting this, I will revert to such points as may seem to offer matter for profitable discussion, impressed with

the inutility there would be in attempting to go regularly through a correspondence of great extent, which has already been viewed with so much interest by the public.

And first, for the reasons for desiring Household Suffrage, and the objections to them. And here, the reasons seem reducible to two;—That it is better than what we have got, and that there is some chance of getting it now.

No man, I surmise, maintains, that Household Suffrage is the one and only thing that man should desire. But it is what we should many of us be very glad of now. It is very likely that the suffrage as it is, may be very well for the present ministry. But the present ministry is a Finality ministry; and there are many of us do not want that. The question which the supporters of further Reform ask themselves, is not what would keep things as they are, but what would alter things as they are. Those who take a deep personal interest in setting Reform in motion again, have an intimate conviction that extending the suffrage by almost any possible general rule, would have a most favourable effect upon their cause. They feel the most firm persuasion that they and their objects would be assisted by it, and not the contrary. And if there are others who are afraid of being impeded, there seems no difficulty in accounting for that fact too.

If we are close pressed for a *principle* on which representation shall be founded, there is clearly none but the well-known one, that representation should be coincident with obedience to the law, and still more with bearing any portion of public burthens under the law. To submit to the law, is itself a thing conferring claims in return; and if a man is to have anything by claiming it, he must clearly have some share in determining what is to be granted, or his share is likely to be very small. Benefit-clubs and associations in general, find no difficulty in ascertaining where representation is due. And they consequently either offer a share of some kind, mediate or immediate, in the direction of their affairs; or if they bid for subscribers on the strength of the excellence of the named directors, they at all events leave everybody at liberty to decline or not, and to frame some other scheme.

If, therefore, we come to extremities at once, Universal Suffrage is the only thing that has universal justice in it. And there is no use in trying to puzzle the question with inquiries after the precise moment when an individual ought to attain to the right of voting, or asking why it is proposed that women shall be cut off. A time may come when women

will not be cut off; there are things more impracticable. Such an invention as "suffrage by sample" would make it easy. And the settling the age of voting to a moment, is no more necessary than keeping a man from his dinner till it is settled to a moment at what time it shall be. To get the dinner is the great thing; and so it is to get the vote. Sensible men have never stopped to solve conundrums of this nature; there is always a practical way.

Household Suffrage, therefore, is desirable, not because it is *a natural right*, unless in the sense that a good dinner is a natural right if a man can get it; but because it is useful, and can be got. Roast beef may be a natural right, when it is to be had; and when not, we may admit our natural right to be cut down to bacon; and even that may be better than the "coarser food" of him who dares not aspire to the flesh of swine. We are just now in the "coarser food" condition; and we aspire to bacon, with an undisguised hope of in the end arriving at beef.

London, 2 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. I.

REPLY TO MR. O'CONNELL'S LETTER OF 12 DEC. 1840 TO LEEDS TIMES.—HIS FOUR MOVEMENTS, WITH RELATION TO THE YORKSHIRE REFORMERS.

SIR,—Mr. O'Connell has fallen into the mistake of saying I threw out "dark insinuations" against him. And I am desirous, in the first place, of correcting his mis-apprehension, and in the next, of obviating any obscurity which can by possibility be existing in other quarters on the nature of my intentions.

The first step shall be to request your insertion of the passages in a previous letter, on which the painful suspicion arose.

'I have just seen the letter of the Irish agitator to Mr. Hamer Stansfeld of the 10th of November.

'The letter is all very friendly and fair; and no man doubts the Irish leader being a three-decker of that class, whose broadside is very convincing in whatever direction it may be pointed. But what will he do? What can we depend on from him? Is not he too fighting a game to bring off the ministers at a pinch, and serve his own purposes by the way? When by the mixture of his energies he has wrought up ours (for

I take the liberty of speaking as your countryman), to the formation on the whole of something powerful and imposing, will he or will he not go to the ministry, or to some ministry, and say, "Now, here is a mass of popular force, able to crush a ministry like the walls of Jericho with the blast of its lungs. Give me my way in Ireland (or as the case may be), and it shall not be set upon you; and if you do not, it shall."

'Or, to take another danger, inasmuch as before the fact is the time for precaution,—will he descant to our Yorkshire brethren, (some of whom make approaches to the *perfervidum ingenium* of the Northern races), on the efficacy of "fourteen thousand men of a fighting age, beginning at fourteen and ending at sixty-five"; and then, if it should chance that among the events yet unrolled by history, they should be attacked by some unforeseen tyranny or other, like the French in the Three Days or the Colonial House of Representatives in Canada, and after being cockered up and their warlike propensities set in motion by oratory as aforesaid, they should attempt resistance like those others or like their forefathers,—will he turn round as he did in the case of Canada, and cry "Naughty, naughty men! Defended themselves "against the grenadiers! Shocking, dreadful! Did not know what I "meant, that fourteen thousand men were to be got together to keep them "out of harm's way!" And will he then go to the ministry and offer three hundred thousand Irish to keep us down? Will he do this; because if he will, we had rather he should not, and would try to hinder him before he begins.

'On these and like points, I do not know how you or any of us are to get any satisfaction. Would not the best policy be, to accept his assistance gladly, but with a full confidence that he will do either of the things mentioned if the invitation comes?—to take him as a gun, which you make up your minds will burst some day or other, but by help of which you hope to have a few long and hard shots at the enemy before that time arrives?

'You know my habits of plain speaking. I have very little confidence in anything that goes by the name of wisdom, or power over the future; but I believe plain speaking is as often right as anything else.' —*Col. Thompson's Letter of* 3 *Dec.* 1840, *to Editor of Leeds Times. In Leeds Times of* 5 *Dec.* 1840.

In this I submit there is no more of intimation that the Irish leader encouraged the Canadians in what he denominates their "revolt," than that he encouraged the French in the Three Days. Both were sudden resistances, arising out of treasonable outbreaks of the executive government, on which there was no time to wait for advice across the sea.

But what I did mean to have believed,—and if there was anything of dimness about the representation, I beg to be allowed to do all that may be practicable to amend the error now,—was, that for the leader who at Limerick

had called for a useless, unprovoked appeal to arms, where no attack had been made by the government, but on the contrary the popular cause was everywhere advancing if he would only refrain from excitations to violence,—for this counseller to turn round on men in Canada who had fallen in opposing a treasonable attack from the ministry which he controls, with an affected horror of the "criminal folly of resistance,"—was what the Irish may find to their liking, but the direct antipodes of all that in England was likely to attract either confidence or veneration. And I supported the argument by citing the more recent fact, that when our unfortunate Chartists, acting no doubt mainly on the advice which he had given to the Irish, had insisted on trying their hands at fighting and had been put down, the counseller and prime mover of the appeal to arms, the safe rebel of Limerick, taunted them on their failure, and, always warlike where there was no likelihood of war, proffered three hundred thousand of his followers to assist to trample on them.

Can I do anything to make this plainer? Will anybody point out to me the parts into which the stream of explanation might usefully be directed?

Since my letter which appeared in the *Leeds Times* of Dec. 5, the reasons for regarding the operations of the Irish leader with extreme distrust have been greatly multiplied. His palpable movements, whether designed or not, with relation to the Yorkshire Reformers, have been four.—

1. To lead them, in reliance on his legal knowledge, into the jaws of transportation; by suggesting to them a plan, which if not absolutely and on all sides illegal, was as sure to be accompanied with illegality and consequent openness to punishment, as a mouse-trap with a hundred mice pulling at the bait, is sure to be accompanied with a going-off.

2. To throw cold water on the agitation against the Corn Laws.

3. To induce the Anti-Corn-Law agitators to put themselves into the position of the other candidates for transportation, by the avowal of political objects.

4. To stir up the decaying feud between the Chartists and the middle classes, by professing to side with the former, after offering 300,000 men to put them down.

Whether it was his deliberate intention to do all these, is what God knows and I do not. But this I know, that, I would put my picquet under arms just the same as if I did.

The grand danger, I repeat, from the Irish leader is

this. He will get what power he can among us, and then sell us with a good conscience the first time he fancies that by betraying us he is what he calls "serving Ireland." He solemnly adjures me to tell him, why the Irish trust him. I suppose it is because they know no better. That he served them well while the question was only an Irish one, is most undoubted. But the moment he has to deal with the English besides, who are somebody whether he likes it or not, he takes rank with the governors to whom Europe just now seems given over, who arrange for the maximum of mutual injury, and call the pickings policy. He will affront and betray the English again, as he has affronted and betrayed them before; and when he has done the worst possible for Ireland in all that regards English friendship and co-operation, he will go back with some petty advantage he will profess to have obtained against us, and invite the "fighting age" of Limerick and the "boys" of Kilkenny to shout patriot and statesman in his train.

Examine his last effort in this line. Recommending the good wives of Ireland to eat up all their butter, and refuse Leeds cloth. Suppose somebody proposes at the Leeds meeting, to employ no Irishman in England or consent to work in company with him. Why should not this be as wise, and, as being in retaliation, vastly more justifiable than the other?

On the question raised, of when the Irish leader will desert to the enemy in any mode, the thesis I propose, if I can clear it of all risk of being mistaken for insinuation, is that he has done what is equivalent, in half a dozen ways already. He did it when he taunted the unfortunate Canadians while they were under the hoof. He did it when he offered 300,000 men to trample on the English Chartists in the like condition. He did it when he called upon the people of Limerick to commence an unprovoked and objectless rebellion. He did it when he raised the banner of commercial disunion between Ireland and Great Britain, as the means of increasing their political cordiality. He did it when he led the Reformers to the door of the Attorney-General's mouse-trap without telling them of any danger, and then assured them they would have been perfectly safe if they had only all taken care to tug at the bait in one particular way and not in another. He did it when he engaged the English tail of "good *reformers*" to follow him by the prospect of boroughs in Ireland. And he brought all to a point, when having from a conjunction of circumstances the power to control ministers and insist on the progress of Reform, he bartered all for advantages to Ireland of about the

same value as the privilege of eating her butter up herself, and established the principle that the ministers were to be supported, as long as there was the difference of a man or the little finger of a man, between their misdoings and the Tories. If he never does the like any more, it must be because human capacity is only a given quantity.

And now, if the Member for all Ireland thinks I have had my reply, I will harness myself under him to any honest purpose with as much glee as ever; barely bargaining for a little right, to see a stone wall before he runs our heads against it past recovery.

Blackheath, 7 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XIII.

Chartist Anti-Corn-Law Associations.

Sir,—I feel a lively hope that in various parts of the country portions of our friends the Chartists are beginning to discover the error in judgment they have made, in thinking the Charter was the thing which could be carried, under the existing corrupt state of the representation. The question always was, whether because the representative body was corrupt, it was most likely to set about reforming its corruptions directly, or to surrender some abuse against which parties of vastly more actual influence than the excluded multitude, were interested.

The evidence of the discovery asserted, is in the formation of what are called Operative Anti-Corn-Law Associations, which you will scarcely fail to have observed. Why not at once call them Chartist Anti-Corn-Law Associations? The divisions of the Anti-Corn-Law party are three;—those who wish the Corn Laws removed for the sake, among other things, of the effect it would have in promoting the objects avowed in the Charter;—those who wish it simply for commercial reasons;—and those who wish to have the thing done by the supporters of the present ministry alone, for the prevention of any political influence the friends of the Charter might obtain by being a portion of the victorious body. Of this last class are the Manchester League, or at least the leaders who give tone to its proceedings. They desire the removal of the

Corn Laws for the effect it would have upon their own ledgers; but they dread the progress of the "Five Points" more.

I am well aware a cry will be raised of the impolicy of avowing that the Corn Laws are assailed with ulterior views. Secrets of this kind seldom do anybody much good. More opposition will not arise from the avowal of such a principle by such as will avow, than arises already from the belief that there is a fraud carrying on in the dark. It is useless to run too fine upon points of this nature. It might be very well for the League to have carried all this on in a snuggery, and have lived upon its disavowal of any ulterior objects, if it had at the same time contrived to keep down its dislike of those suspected of favouring the other cause. But if the League is a job, it should be forced either to avow itself so, or to submit to the degradation of alliance with such Chartists as, *because* they are Chartists, would put down the Corn Laws.

I therefore beg, through your medium, to publish for the first time the proposal, that such of the operatives as see the way in which both their own interests would be advanced and the obtaining of further political privileges for their class facilitated by the removal of the Corn Laws, should avow their sentiments by assuming the title of CHARTIST ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATIONS.

London, 7 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XII.

EFFECT OF COST OF FOOD ON SALES—DR. AND CR. ACCOUNT, BETWEEN A PAISLEY BALE OF GOODS AND A SAXON.

SIR,—Though I may possibly not agree upon all questions with your correspondent "M." in your paper of 26 December, I feel anxious to be allowed to give my portion of support to some of the important propositions he advances.

The operatives *must*, in one way or another, be rescued from the opinion that doubling the price of their food does not prevent their manufactures from being sold abroad. The question really seems reducible to something like a debtor and creditor account. The landowners keep out foreign corn, in order that the scarcity may raise the price at home; that is to say, that a peck of corn may be made to exchange for a greater quantity of all and every other kind of thing, than would otherwise be the case. And this effect they accomplish, to the extent of

making corn double the price it is on the continent of Europe. Fancy, then, a Saxon and a Paisley manufacturer competing in some foreign market, as for instance the American; and let it be supposed that knowledge, capital, power of getting the raw material, the mode of living of the operative, and everything else, are equal on both sides, with the single exception that the peck of corn which makes part of the operative's pay in England, costs twice as much as in Saxony; and let the American money got for the goods, be vested in whatever is best, as for instance cotton. Make out then a distinct debtor and creditor account, for a bale of each kind of goods, assuming four dollars in Saxony to be equal to a pound sterling; and for simplicity, let the Saxon just make both ends meet, with a profit of, say, 10 per cent. Try this, and see where the Paisley man will be.

SAXON BALE OF GOODS.

Dr.	Dollars.
To cost of raw materials and machinery	40
To wages of operatives, exclusive of corn . . .	40
To a peck of corn to each operative per day . .	20
To profits	10
	110
Cr.	
By cotton bought in America and sold in Saxony . .	110
Balance . .	*nil*

PAISLEY BALE OF GOODS.

Dr.	£.	s.
To cost of raw materials and machinery	10	0
To wages of operatives, exclusive of corn . . .	10	0
To a peck of corn to each operative per day . .	10	0
To profits	2	10
	£32	10
Cr.		
By cotton bought in America and sold in Great Britain	27	10
Balance *Dr.*	£5	0

Can there be any doubt, that the trade of Paisley for the American market must be run away with by the Saxon, and the wages and employment which would be given by that trade to the operatives taken away in consequence? The last report to Nottingham is, that the Saxons can offer goods of the same quality for fifty per cent under the Nottingham man; which may be supposed to mean at two-thirds of the Nottingham price. And the like must be the case with the Paisley goods; or if it is not there, it is somewhere else.

You see how useless it is to pretend to be either a manufacturing or a commercial country, while there is an express plan for making laws to prevent manufactures and commerce; and while your priests are thanking God for murder, robbery,

and every abomination, under pretence of a good harvest, and all because they conceive their own salaries to hang upon the existing state of things.

Another point on which I heartily congratulate your correspondent, is his having penetrated the fraud of the landowners in talking about the "loss of the home market." If a butter-wife chuses to go to a distant market because she gets more for her butter than nearer home, what use would there be in threatening her with the loss of her home market? She goes abroad precisely because her home market is the worst. The proposal of the landowners is that the manufacturers should go to the market where they can get two pecks of corn for a day's work, instead of the market where they can get three; or if it be preferred to put it in another way, to the market where they can get a peck of corn for fifteen hours' work, instead of the market where they can get it for ten.

But then they say, the home market is *so much the greater of the two*. That is, they have by law cut down the good market and prevented it from existing, and then tell you the other is the greater of the two. Suppose the butter-wife were prevented from going to her good markets, and then told the other was the *greater*. Suppose that out of three stones of butter, she was forced to sell two at home at an inferior price, and told she had the largest market at home and therefore must not spoil it? Butter-wives are wiser in their generation, than some of either master or man in the manufacturing classes.

I think your correspondent might go a step farther, in his perception of the connexion between the price of agricultural produce and other commodities. Money is nothing but the instrument by which exchanges of one commodity for another are effected, just as they may be effected by ticking off two bills against each other; the things finally exchanged are the commodities. The naked fact is, that the landowners by making a scarcity of corn, oblige all and everybody to give them more of their labour or goods for a peck of corn. It may be true or not, that when corn rises, other things rise; but it *is not true* that when corn is made to rise by scarcity, other things rise *as much as corn*. And this again, I am afraid will make a puzzle to some of the operatives, though it hardly would to a butter-wife. If she found the landlords raising the price of corn by making it scarce, with a view among other things to get more of her work and industry against a

peck of corn, she would not be misled by the fact that corn had risen by two-pence in the pound Scots and butter one.

With the permission of you and your correspondent, I will go on again another time.

London, 6 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

Nó. XV.

A General Increase of Wages can only come from a General Increase of Food.

Sir,—In looking over the proceedings of a Lecture on the Corn Laws at Leicester, I find the lecturer interrupted by a cry of "The hosiers should not give so little wages, and then we should get more bread!"

Upon this I want to join issue, and ask the criers whether they seriously think that if all the employers in the country could be made or forced to double wages, *that* would relieve the working classes from the scarcity they complain of.

If one man could get his wages doubled by himself, there seems no doubt that he might get a double quantity of bread; as an individual in a ship short of water, might by possibility get two pints a-day instead of one for the whole voyage, by an order from the captain. But I have a notion, that the whole crew could not get two pints a-day instead of one by an order of the same nature. And just the same difficulty is here. Before a thing is got, it must be there to be had. And unless giving greater wages has some tendency to increase the quantity to be divided, the result must in the main be like the captain's ordering every man a quart a-day out of a pint.

Not but there might be ways in which to a trifling extent there would be tendencies towards some relief. As for instance, by setting the working classes more nearly on an equality with the richer, it might for a time cause the division of the corn to be something fairer. But this effect could only be momentary; for the result must be either that the price of corn must rise, or every man of the working classes be served with a quart of corn where there was only a pint, and which of these would carry the day may be left to private judgment to decide. And by this rising of the price of corn, the working classes would be reduced to the same portions as before.

Or it might be urged, that such a proceeding would vir-

tually abolish the Corn Laws. But this is hardly a fair answer; any more than the proposal for getting rid of the Corn Laws by an enormous issue of paper money, which should raise the money prices of corn and everything else to a height never contemplated by the landlords in their barriers against the country's food. It is plain, that as long as the landlords can oppose the abolition of the Corn Laws, they can oppose anything of this kind, and will take care to do it accordingly. And if they did not, it would only prove my point; which is that nothing but the abolition, by hook or by crook, of the Corn Laws, can relieve the working classes.

I wonder that the working classes have not found out, that the Corn Laws are in reality the "Coarser Food" laws. As long as there is to be a monopoly and a consequent pressure of want for agricultural produce, there must be a premium on the production of the kinds which will give most sustenance from the least land and at the least expense; which I take to be precisely what is meant by coarser food. In illustration of this, if the purser of a ship was trying to make a fortune by going to sea with two months' provision on board instead of three, and selling it to the best bidder as the captain of the Turkish frigate in the Palmerston war sold water to his prisoners,—it would be plain that if the potatoes he could lay in for the same money would sustain life longer than the bread, it would be for his interest to provide potatoes instead of bread. The proof of which would be, that if he set up the potatoes which cost him a guinea by the side of the bread which cost him the same, a greater total price would be bid for all the potatoes, though the price per pound weight would always continue inferior to the price of bread.

It strikes me therefore, that the working classes ought to begin calling out for "coarser food," or at all events should acknowledge the principle that there would be no use in getting rid of the coarser food till they have prefaced it by various improvements in the suffrage, and precautions against the effects of machinery now and in time to come. It is difficult to see how they are to escape the charge of inconsistency if they do not.

London, 14 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Midland Counties Illuminator.

No. III.

What is "Party?"

Sir,—An article in your last number moves me to push further the examination of what is meant by "party." In my school-days, and bred up in a High Church and Tory school, I remember being much puzzled with the sister word "faction." It was plain to my youthful understanding, that every evil in Greece and Rome arose from the want of everybody agreeing with somebody; but how this somebody was to have been fixed upon, continued to give me some uneasiness. The learned master here stepped in, and pointed out to his head class, that the man who was always in the right, was the one who evinced the greatest aptitude for prompt and violent measures, was the most careless of individual lives and comforts when opposed to what he determined to call the interest of the state, and most inflexible in running all risks and refusing all compromise when this kind of policy was in question. In short, as I found on arriving at the years called of discretion, it was the ancient Tory, who was invariably right. Cato in the affair of Catiline, if I remember well, was the *beau idéal* of our master's idolatry; and on after acquaintance, I take the said Cato to have been something exceedingly like Lord Eldon in a pre-existent state, except that Lord Eldon, if he really was the same individual, did not in his later incarnation carry out his principle to the extent of going to the prison which contained Messrs. Hardy and Thelwall, and putting an end to the risk of dangerous acquittal by putting them to death out of hand.

Party then, means being of any but the right party, which is every man's own. For when it is the right, then none will call it party. In fact it is the ill-natured, or as Jeremy Bentham called it, the *dyslogistic* word, for everybody except a man's self and friends. And everybody seems to employ it in turn. Thus *we* are "party," in the eyes of a Tory journalist, whose principle is, that the whole duty of man is comprised in being ready to surrender life and fortune at any time, to enable an aristocratical and ecclesiastical domination to work their will upon the rest of mankind. When the Chinese felony was brought before parliament, the Whig-Radicals said the opposition to it was

a "party" affair to bring in the Tories; and so by way of proving their own cleanness from "party," they voted for the felony and carried it by nine.

It would be better, perhaps, to lean towards avoiding the word, unless qualified by some explanatory addition. Thus if we say the rogues' party, or the honest men's party, there is some chance of knowing what is meant.

In all this there seems to be nothing that does not agree in principle with the article pointed to in setting out; the tendency of which to the promotion of useful union, it is impossible to estimate too highly.

London, 14 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. XLIII.

THE LEEDS ASSEMBLY.—WHAT ARE WE TO DO THERE?

SIR,—I am unable to repress my conviction, that it will only be falling into the error of the Chartists who thought they were to have a thing for saying they wanted it, if your Leeds Assembly confines itself to setting forth the intensity of its desires for further Reform, and neglects to use the means which are the only ones by which the effect is likely to be brought about. What care the men who are opposed to us, for what we wish or do not, so long as we have not genius or honesty to put it into the form of a weapon that alarms them? In my childhood I remember studying Grose's Military Antiquities, in hopes of gaining light on the conformation of Christian's redoubtable weapon "All-prayer." Like Christian's, our prayers will be of small avail unless we embody them in something of a cut-and-thrust efficiency, which may frighten the goblins of the pit. It is not because we have wishes, but because we clothe them in a shape that is feared, that we shall succeed. The treachery that has been practised on us, may inform us what that shape is. The promise made to ministers has been, that they shall not be interfered with in their tenure of place, till they have run down the gamut of Tory mischief, and proved that they have reached within one of the base note of iniquity. All above that, has been guaranteed to them; and if there is any intention of change, the first object must be to break up the bond.

There is no use in disguising the facts. The ministers have

only sinned, as men by nature and education prone to dishonesty sin when they yield to the temptation of impunity held out,—when they find somebody willing to barter such impunity, for services to be rendered in return. The ministers are less to blame, than those who have supported them.

In truth we meet at Leeds, to show the public at large, whether we are the rump of the old fraud, assembled to wring some further dregs out of the obsolete deceit, or are possessed with any serious desire to rescue what may be saved out of the wreck of hopes. We are got back to being the executioners of the Holy Alliance; but the "good reformers" have their boroughs and their interviews with ministers. We are to pay the expenses of a basketfull of disgraceful wars, for which far better and more appropriate payment were a rope; but the "good reformers" keep possession of the ministerial side of the house, and after that, who can complain? And now we shall see them again, as ready as ever to take charge of our objects and drive them to perdition; unless through some unhoped accession of good fortune or good sense, somebody should bethink themselves they have had enough of them already.

Once more, watch how these men will talk, but how careful they will be to say nothing that shall hurt. See how they will twist, and turn, and threaten that at some time they will think of showing their teeth, with provision only that it shall not be now. There is no better rule, than that those who have deceived us once for their own interest, would be glad to do it again. It rests with ourselves, whether we shall go away with the character of having endeavoured to prolong the public mischief, or claim the reputation of having been able to take intelligent measures towards an intelligible end.

London, 14 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XII.

THE CORN LAWS THE "COARSER FOOD" LAWS.—MEN'S EXPECTATIONS OF TOO MUCH.

SIR,—It certainly strikes me as surprising, that the working classes do not find out, that the Corn Laws are in reality the "coarser food" laws;—that if a man wanted to inflict on them coarser food he could rationally go about it no other way. For what is "coarser food?" It is food of which a greater quan-

tity, or with less expense, can be grown upon the same land; or what is only a branch of the same principle, which can be grown on lands where other kinds of produce cannot be raised advantageously or at all. If potatoes could only be grown in hot-houses, instead of being held the "coarser food" they would be the luxurious and the highly sought; and rye-bread is sent as a present to the metropolis, where it is not easily procured. It is probable however after all, that there is an intrinsic superiority in wheaten bread over either potatoes or rye; that is to say, that out of a large number of people having access equally to all, a majority would agree in thinking the wheaten on the whole the best. But if men are to breed against the produce of a given quantity of land, it is as plain they must be driven to the coarser food, as that the horse will eat up his straw under a scarcity of hay. The supporters of the Corn Laws therefore among the working classes, ought, decidedly, to huzza for the "coarser food."

A valuable point about your Lectures, is the evidence given by one of the working classes, not apparently an enthusiast against the Corn Laws, on the depression existing among the agricultural labourers in Devonshire. This goes to disprove one of the frauds of the supporters of the monopoly, which is the assertion that the Corn Laws are for the good of the agricultural labourers. The truth is that the agricultural labourer is reduced to the same necessity of giving his day's labour for a diminished quantity of corn, as the manufacturing. He has no more chance than the other for effecting his escape.

In Devonshire, Cornwall, and Wiltshire, it appears to be stated, that "the peasant is earning seven shillings a-week." The word "peasant" itself is of Corn-Law origin; it was almost unknown in this country, till want reduced the British labourer to the level of the continental "*paysan*," and the semi-poetical columns of the *Morning Post* patronized the word as one which would be agreeable to aristocratic ears. Children sometimes mistake a "peasant" for a "pheasant." The one is the aristocrat's meat; the other the man that starves to make it for him.

Instead of asking whether the cultivators can or cannot produce sufficient food for the wants of the population, the question should always be put in the form of demanding whether the population is or is not to be starved down to a given quantity of food. The moment it is proposed that people should forego a cheaper market that might be had,

the proposal really is, that somebody shall either be starved or be hindered from coming into existence, by the want of food. Whenever the question is asked, "whether it is wise to allow our population and wealth to extend beyond our agricultural basis," the question stripped of disguise is whether the population and wealth which trade and manufactures proceed to create, shall be from time to time annihilated and destroyed, by a process of starving either immediate or protracted.

One great source of error and disunion in all discussions on the Corn Laws, appears to be, men's expectations of too much. It is the interest of the supporters of these laws, to endeavour to fix the contest on the question, of whether all human ills and dangers are to cease for ever on their removal? Whereas the question is much more like the following. Suppose a man had an unfortunate and not very easily found hole in his pocket, the effect of which was, that his money was constantly disappearing, and so he was brought from day to day nearer to "coarser food" and the poor-house. Would it or would it not be for his interest to stop this mischief, and if there was doubt about the precise situation of the hole, to go to considerable pains to find and to repair it? And above all, should we hear sensible men declaring, that they would not caulk the pocket's bottom, nor let anybody else do it, till they had carried certain political objects without which they maintained the darning of the pocket would be useless?

Emigration is clearly the landlord's valve, which is to let off the steam when likely to become dangerous. Most of them have the sense to acquiesce in this; but there was one "starvation" member in the House of Commons, who stood up and declared, that men ought not to be allowed to emigrate, but be made to stay at home "and eat the agriculturists' corn." It is believed these were as near as may be the words of the speaker; and no exaggeration is certainly intended. In all disputes, there is nothing like an *ultra*. Here was the design avowed, that the population should be made to bid against each other for the landlords' corn, and none of them be allowed to evade his duty.

London, 14 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XV.

"AVERAGE MISFORTUNE."—"KNIGHT-ERRANTRY" OF POLITICS.

SIR,—When a private individual takes up the trade of felony, it often costs him a good deal of trouble to "place himself beyond the reach of *average misfortune*." It sometimes happens too, to the joy of honest men, that all his precautions fail him, and leave him in the attitude which Judges abbreviate into *sus. per coll.*

So it is with the present ministers. In breach of all their professions, and in direct defiance of the trust put in them, they have taken up the trade of public felony, and now set their hirelings of the metropolitan press to demonstrate to a feeling public, the expenses it may be necessary to go to, in order to cover the consequences. Abrogating every preconceived principle of national honour, they have taken up the trade of political banditti, plunging themselves and us into infamy such as never stuck to a civilized nation before; and after accomplishing this through the treasonable device of refusing to communicate to parliament, they will come forward to saddle us with our shares of the disgrace in the shape of taxes, which though brought on by a swindling fraud, no sufficing number of us will have the spirit either directly or indirectly to oppose.

The time in fact is come, when it is necessary to chalk a line and say, "Rogues to that side, and honest men to this." The government, emboldened by one or two previous trials in which it had proved the strength of its bargain with the miserables calling themselves "good reformers" in parliament, has proceeded to carry us back to the brutality and barbarism of past ages, and set up the standard against human improvement in every quarter of the globe. There is literally not one, in which it is not at this moment carrying on its high-handed basenesses, with a recklessness only to be paralleled by the superfluous zeal with which the profligate and the uncharactered of both sexes rush upon their shame. Wherever there were strong reasons why an Englishman for his credit's sake and the reputation of the country that bore him should have taken a different course, there is the government found

dishonouring and degrading us. The quarrel is not a public one, but a private and a domestic. The man who, taking advantage of the position to which you and I have helped to raise him, afflicts us and our posterity with the disgrace of vulgar crime and mean unhandsome wickedness, is as much our individual enemy as he who should cover us with his spittle, or attempt the dishonour of our families before our eyes. We were born of honest people in an honest country, and it is a grievous and a heartfelt thing to be made felons to please felons. The resistance to the most degraded ministry in history, is a matter of individual conscience and honour, not of political animosity. We want to form ourselves into Suppression of Vice Societies, not Political Unions. It is not political success we aim at; but self-defence against the personal disgrace of being so governed.

But the ministers are not all we have to move against. There are the backers and supporters of these ministers, who have betrayed and bartered away the defence that was entrusted to them. There are the men who have sold us before, and whom the Leeds Meeting in their wisdom have sent for to sell them again. Add to these, without danger of mistake, a good half of your Corn Law repealers, whose guiding motive is to take the doing of a good thing out of the hands of the people, and confine it to themselves. What a time would this be for the intelligent, honest, and respectable working classes,—who murder not, neither do they steal,—to show themselves in opposition to a thievish, characterless, cut-throat aristocracy, with middle classes whom I am afraid it would be a compliment to describe as better than half-way between the two.

There is no doubt about the fact. The ministry called Whig, has laid the foundation of a sweeping revolution, by implanting in the breasts of the honest and upright portion of the community, the same mixture of hatred and contempt for the morals, honour, and talents of the ruling classes, which in other countries has led to that result, and by the good provision of God will do it everywhere that the experiment shall be repeated.

P.S. Having named the Meeting at Leeds, I notice that the Whig organ there, the *Mercury*, protests against the "knight-errantry of politics" that "takes up great and complicated schemes of organic changes which there is no hope of carrying, instead of devoting itself to practical measures." The rebuke is just. Will nobody move, that "under

the coalition which has taken place between the Whig and Tory Conservatives, the only practical measure at present within the reach of Reformers, is individually to encourage voting for whichever of the two parties is out of place."

London, 14 *Jan.* 184[illegible].

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XIII.

MACHINERY.—NOTTINGHAM CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

SIR,—In continuation, the Council of the Nottingham Charter Association desire to ask, "what benefits would accrue to the working classes if they, by improvements in machinery, could produce stockings or other articles of manufacture, at one-half the price they received before; and could get food from other countries at one-half the price they pay for the produce of their own country." And they answer themselves, "None whatever."

To this I reply, first by asking whether they think they would mend the matter by having the machinery *without the reduction in the price of corn.* For this is truly the question at issue. They speak of the machinery as if it were something to exist only on the removal of the Corn Laws. Whereas it is what they will be equally sure of, whether they have the Corn Laws or whether they have not. It is like asking what better a man who fell overboard in a heavy jacket and boots, would be for an oar to help him to swim. The jacket is what he cannot get rid of; and your Council seem to be of opinion, that he ought therefore to refuse the oar.

But besides this reply, there is the further one, that a good deal has been said to show, that this reduction of wages to one-half by machinery, is a thing unlikely or exaggerated. Unlikely, because reasons have been given why wages do not decrease in proportion to the increased powers of machinery, which is the assumption on which this imagined reduction of wages is built; and exaggerated, because no account is taken of the degree in which the working classes would be benefited by the general reduction of prices by machinery. But still the main reply is the other, that because machinery is and will be, is no reason for demanding that corn shall be kept at double price.

If the repeal of the Corn Laws under the existing state of things would benefit none but the capitalist, it would follow that to double the severity of the Corn Laws would injure none but the capitalist; which is saying that the working classes are to be as well off with less food as with more. And here lies the weakness of the Council's theory. They have a theoretical notion, that they are as well off with a little food as with more; and we the practical men, are exhorting them to believe that there are weaknesses between the joints of their logic, and that they trust too implicitly to theory and too little to experience.

Or, to view their theory in another light, it is, that there is to be more corn in the country, but nobody is to eat it. For it is clear, that if they, the numerous classes, do not, it cannot be eaten. But if it is not to be eaten it will soon cease to come; and if it does not come, things will remain here as they are, and there can be no more corn in the country than before; and if the quantity of corn is the same, the price will be so too. So that the expected end appears to be, that we are to have access to the cheap corn of the continent, and no effect is to be produced by it. Corn is to be neither cheaper nor more abundant, and of the working classes the last condition is to be worse than the first. The difficulty of the theory of tides is nothing to this.

The stockingers deny travelling by the railroad. They must be worse off than their neighbours; for the Leeds men come to Hull in a body. But whether they do or not, makes very little to the argument. There is not one of them so foolish as to ask to be allowed to give more in a shop, where he may have a thing for less. Yet they say they toil fifteen or sixteen hours a day, and they particularly resist having the same corn for twelve. And in this resolution it appears they strengthen themselves daily, from a conviction that their knowledge is nobody else's knowledge, and that everybody is altogether incapable of legislating for them but themselves.

It is from the agitation of these questions among the working classes, that the only remedy is to be expected. They have presented a striking converse to the declaration of Lafayette, that for a people to be free it is sufficient that they will it. They have demonstrated that for a "slave class" to continue so, it is sufficient that they are determined on it. Better hopes were certainly entertained of them, than that at this time of day they should be no farther advanced than their grandfathers when they mobbed against threshing-mills. But in estimating every advance, the first point is to know

where we begin from. We shall not be the worse in the end, for knowing it here.

P.S. I am informed that the *Staffordshire Examiner* of the 2nd inst. calls me names in two separate paragraphs. I beg to recommend that journal to the reading of my friends.

London, 13 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. IV.

THE SYRIAN WAR.—BARGAIN WITH THE WHIGS.

SIR,—The Syrian war, as you observe, may perhaps be over. But the Syrian war is only an advanced guard,—a little war the forerunner of great ones. Or a feeler, if preferred, to see how the nation's pulse will stand for more.

And here we are brought to the dangerous point. For the first time perhaps in English history, there is no opposition in parliament. The schism between the government and the people may be as wide or wider than at any other period; but still, there is no opposition. There is not one man in the House of Commons,—or if there is, he is sitting under a bushel and cannot be seen,—who has in his heart to offer any serious opposition to the Tory and Whig Conservative coalition which has carried us back to the Holy Alliance days of Castlereagh and Wellington. There are fifty who will keep up a petty splutter where they know it will do nobody any harm. But there is not one that is capable of conceiving in his heart any real and effective opposition. Like the sword-players in Addison's *Spectator*, who were overheard one asking the other whether he would give cuts or receive, all their hostilities are measured, and especially calculated for the object of doing no serious damage to anybody.

The system distinctly avowed by the Irish agitator, who from circumstances had the power of throwing the weight of his followers with decisive effect into any scale he wished, was simply this, That the Whigs were not to be opposed, so long as there was the turn of the scale between the mischief *they* would do, and the Tories. And the decision of the Pasha of many tails was eagerly confirmed by his Irish and English appendages.

Here then are the Whigs established in full possession of the right of carrying on all sorts of disgraceful wars, and hurrying the country and Europe back towards the barbarism they were abandoning,—provided always it can be demonstrated that they fall short by a man, or by the little finger of a man, of the mischief the Tories would have been likely to have inflicted in their place.

Thus under the olden state of things, we suffered the mischief the Tories could invent, *minus* all that a numerous and active minority could do to hinder it by the exercise of the powers of argument and remonstrance. *Now* we are to suffer the same mass of inventive mischief, *minus* the little finger. This is what we have got by the Lichfield House compact. This is what we have got by the Reform Bill.

In the parliament which was dissolved by the demise of William IV, there was a small nucleus of honest and determined opposition; so small indeed that it got the name of the dual party, and it is not certain that the application of a microscope then or now could have doubled the account. This party was entirely trodden out at the elections; though it might have been supposed that the mere fact of its being the only thing of its kind, would have been a reason for keeping it alive. It was clear that it could only act by the effect of what it had to say; and it might have been supposed that this alone would have created a kind of sentiment of fair play in favour of its being heard. Nothing of the kind took place. On the contrary, where the occasion arose, the Irish and English tails rushed to aid in extinguishing it, with the zeal of the man that treads out a spark in a powder-room; and there was no reaction, as sometimes happens, to disappoint them of their mark. The same intertwisted tails are seen hurrying everywhere that the chance of a serious popular movement appears; to take possession of and guide its progress. Meanwhile the eagerness of the public to verify the Hudibrastic maxim on the pleasure of being misled, displays itself in its usual force. At Leeds, for instance, the tails were sent for, with the ardour which in the territories of Cocagne induces the roasted pigs to cry "Come eat me." We shall see what finally comes of that meeting, which is so anxious to undo mischief by putting itself under the direction of the doers.

London, 18 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XIV.

" HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE WOULD DESTROY THE INFLUENCE OF TOWNS, STRENGTHEN THE ARISTOCRACY, AND PERPETUATE THE CORN-LAW." —*Leeds Mercury.*

SIRS,—Among the objections to Household Suffrage is stated, that it makes no distinction between the educated and uneducated classes. This will always make a stock excuse, because it will always be nearly as applicable to one rule of suffrage as to another. The holders of the suffrage as it is, decline adding to their numbers, on the score of their education and intelligence. The swillers of ale, and the two-guinea men, are mortally afraid of the introduction of an under-educated caste to the power of making legislators. Bear it in mind, when the opportunity presents itself for this line of meditation.

The strength of the fallacy, lies in taking the particular instances which might be objectionable if they stood by themselves, and treating them as if they were a sample of the whole. The most concentrated form of it, may be considered as presented in the objection to universal suffrage " You would not surely give a vote to the beggar on the bridge!" What harm was the beggar on the bridge to do with his vote if he had it? The real question, as far as the objection goes, is between the national mischief the beggar on the bridge is to do with his vote, and the national mischief of making millions of men into a " slave class" in order to keep out the beggar on the bridge. The beggar might probably do like other beggars great and small, and give his vote where he thought he should get most for it; but that makes no answer by itself. So here " Do you really and deliberately intend to repose the trust of the suffrage in every man who occupies anything that can be called a house?" is meant to call up the idea of the notoriously unfits, and sink the consideration of the general process. It is with this view that are paraded " the tenant of every dwelling in St. Giles's London, or the liberties of Dublin, or the Barony of Glasgow, or the sad abodes of misery, vice, and filth, to be found in the worst quarters of our great manufacturing and seaport towns; every farmer's labourer who occupies house or hut from the Land's End to John O'Groat's; every tenant of a mud cabin on the bogs or mountains of Ireland, where

the tenancy is equally shared between the man and the pig, and where the former admits that the latter pays the rent." With the same design you are asked, " Is it your intention to give the franchise to the peasants of Kent, who followed the fanatic Thom, to the Chartists of Monmouthshire, who rose in insurrection at Newport, or to the mob who set Birmingham on flames?"

To all these questions you might boldly answer Yes. You would give the suffrage to the " sad abodes of misery, vice, and filth," because to the absence of the suffrage, not in themselves individually but in the class, is owing that they are so miserable, so vicious, and so unclean. Their misery and their vice you trace to the circumstance that they are a " slave class," and it noses you in their filth. You would give the suffrage to the farmer's labourer, yea every one, as fast as he is likely to get it, that he may have some motive for looking into his blessings from the Poor-house and the Corn Laws. You would give it to the tenant of the mud cabin for precisely similar reasons, counting his intimacy with the pig as one of the reasons for and not against. To the peasants overhung by Canterbury, you would give it for the distinct cause, that political interest and knowledge would have been the best antidote to the prelatic darkness which overshadowed them; and to the Chartists of Monmouth and the rioters of Birmingham, that ceasing to be a " slave class " they might insurrectionize no more.

If *intimidation* would be the consequence of introducing a poorer class of voters, it is something gained, to put men to the trouble of intimidation. Give us the suffrage and the chances of intimidation with it. Among the reasons for what despots call " a paternal government," this fear of intimidation might aptly be made to figure. Besides, there might be such a thing, as sending a stomach-pump with the poison. Send the Ballot, and see if that will not bring off as much of the perilous stuff as will save the patient. Will the Whigs give us the Ballot any more than Household Suffrage? Or is there anything they would not " think themselves mad " to give us while they can withhold?

The evil of evils is sticking where the Whigs would have us. The cry to " keep out the Tories " has become a bold fraud, the meaning of which is " Give us license to do all the Tories would do, within the turn of the scale." The Whigs are for striving wherever they know there is nothing to be done. By the treacherous abandonment of their professions they have brought the chances of Reform with a rapid retro-

grade movement to a dead lock; and there they would keep us, for as many quarter-days as may be convenient.

In all this there may be no denying, that the misdirection of the Chartists has been the great secondary cause which has played into the hands of the Whigs. It was this which prevented such a progress in substantial Reform, as would have carried the Whigs, like St. Peter, whither they would not. It was because Lords Melbourne and Russell wielded the Chartists at their will, or which comes to the same thing, the Chartists ran the way they would have had them without any wielding at all,—that the two great powers of corruption in the state, the Whig-Conservatives and the Tory-Conservatives, are gazing at each other with little hope of compassing anything for either but by compassing for both.

London, 9 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. II.

WHAT IS THE "PRACTICAL MEASURE"?

SIR,—Allow me to endeavour to impress through the medium of your Journal, that the only effective way in which the honest friends of Reform in the actual state of things can employ such strength as they have, is by directing it against whichever of the two combining parties by which the country is oppressed, happens for the time to be in place. The idea is not mine, for it has been avowed by the Chartists, or portions of them, in their meetings; and I wish all their determinations had been equally well adapted for the attainment of their ends. In this way the small party of Reform would do something like beating the heads of its enemies against each other; and it is impossible that it should not gather strength on all sides by the process. Though its strength were only as a grain of mustard-seed, there would here be a manifest tendency for it to grow into a tree; or, as we are upon the field of scriptural comparisons, t would be the way to receive back our one talent with usury, nstead of wrapping it in a napkin, and idly lamenting the mallness of our means.

The plan rests clearly on the assumption, that each of the contending parties of Whig-Conservatives and Tory-Con-

servatives are for practical purposes equally our enemies. If this is doubted, try it in a particular case. Take, for instance, the opposition to the Corn Laws. Passing then the strong suspicion, which in me at least is personally excusable, that a substantial portion of the active movers are only ministerial partisans anxious to secure a power which they may turn to the support of their friends and patrons,—what deliberate probability does any honest enemy of the Corn Laws see of obtaining their removal, from the present ministry in its present state? Do you expect to obtain it from their successors? some burly man will ask. No, conjuror! may be replied; but in the ministry called Liberal which came next, something like that "change of mind" our translators feebly render by repentance, might have had time to grow; or if not then, another or another process of the like kind might be found to have made some advances towards the end. The question is between taking a course which sets the tree a-growing, or one which has no such tendency at all.

But what is it the opponents of the Corn Laws expect? Do they look forward to seeing in the course of another session, Lord John Russell come forward to declare that he believes the preponderance of the landed interest is prejudicial to the stability of the constitution? Or is Lord Melbourne to protest that instead of thinking a minister who would remove the Corn Laws mad, he has discovered that he would only be clothed and in his right mind? It is plain that since miraculous conversions have ceased, the ministry will be blown up and dissipated, long before such scales as these fall from its leaders' eyes. In fact at this moment, a Tory leader of the calibre of such as carried Catholic Emancipation, would be vastly more likely to be the instrument of relief, than the small-minded aristocrats who have wedged themselves into the government under the name of Whigs. The man must be demented and past cure beyond the power of language to express, who not being moved by a consciousness of self-interest, professes to see a hope of obtaining any substantial reform from the ministry as it is. That string has been worn out long ago; it has been demonstrated that the ministers are ready to go all lengths to evade the necessity of reform, and no reasonable man can doubt that they would bring Mr. O'Connell and his 300,000 "gallowglasses" into England to rule us with, or the Holy Alliance to boot, sooner than be driven from their object while they have ground on which they can fall back.

That there is plenty of power to set this plan in motion, may be established on the authority of a quotation from your last.

'There are few constituencies in which the electors of Radical opinions do not hold in their own hands the fate of the ministerial candidates.'

If then we go on playing the game of those who have sold Reform for objects of personal interest to themselves, it can only be because we love to have it so. As the Whig organ at Leeds, the *Mercury*, advises, let us avoid the "knight-errantry" which "takes up schemes of organic changes there is no hope of carrying, instead of practical measures." And let our practical measure be this.

As these opinions will to a certainty meet with dissentients, it would be gratifying to me to have the opportunity of supporting them against such arguments as may be urged.

Blackheath, 15 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XIV.

Ought any Tax to be levied, while it could be taken from Rent?

Sir,—Your Correspondent, "A Farmer," of Plomesgate Hundred, has plunged upon the sorest of all points for the landlords, which is the question whether in strict justice and policy *any* tax for public purposes ought to be allowed to fall on the operations of industry, while it is possible to take it directly from rent *which is not industry*. The question is of his seeking, not mine; but being proposed, it must be gone into.

The answer then to the statement that "all taxes are in reality paid by the landowners, by being withheld from their rents,"—is that if it is so, it is as it ought to be. And not only that this is as it ought to be, but that it would be no more than justice and policy to add to it the levying of the taxes directly instead of indirectly, if the landlords insist on the verification of their theory. For if it be true already that the landlords pay all taxes out of their rents, no harm could arise to them from the change; and it would be a great comfort to many other people, even though the effects existed in imagination only.

The fact then, if we are driven to it, is that rent *has not* that claim to protection from the rest of the community, which property of other kinds has, or not in the same degree; and for this palpable reason, that it is not the reward of industry, but on the contrary is entirely paid out of the reward of other men's industry. Rent is the difference between the price given in consequence of competition for the produce, and the total of the expenses, wages, and profits, necessary for the production. If, therefore, a party of emigrants were taking possession of a new country, the most reasonable thing they could do would be to pre-arrange that all public expenses should be taken entirely out of the rent of land when there was any; and the most unreasonable, that they should allow their supplies to be cut off or reduced, for the purpose of making a subscription for the owners of rent.

If governments in general have not acted upon this principle, the causes are capable of being traced. In the first place, the owners of rent have often contrived to be the makers of the law; and the use they have made of it, has been not only to protect the very questionable property in rent, but to rob the rest of the community as the means of increasing it. Another reason is, that to a certain but very inferior extent, there is a policy in admitting the claim of rent to be considered as property. In some cases, and perhaps to a very limited extent in all cases, there is a portion of the mental labour of the landlord mixed up with the cultivation and improvement of the soil. There is also no absolute objection, but the contrary, to seeing under certain limitations the existence and growth of a race of men who shall "live at home at ease," though they toil not neither do they spin. But it is a naked kind of claim after all; and the last thing prudent men would think of adding, would be a demand to be allowed to limit the community's food as the means of assisting it. It is enough if in these enlightened days, the landlords can maintain their right to receive rents at all until the whole expenses of the state have first been taken out of them by a rateable impost; without pretending to claim that the reward of industry shall be taken by artificial means to increase their store.

Is not the "Farmer" of Plomesgate Hundred something *more?* This is not a farmer's question, but a landlord's; and though there may exist instances of devotion to other men's interests, it is a surmise often right, that every man defends his own. In the present case, whether framer or more, I must be excused for doubting whether your corres-

pondent has promoted any interest of "his order," by bringing forward the sorest of all the questions on the file.

There is no difficulty about what would be the result of laying the whole taxation of the country directly upon the landlords, if the theory of your correspondent be correct. If the present rents are 60 millions and the taxes 45, of which 10 now fall avowedly on the landlords, the result of taking off the taxes from everybody else and laying them on the landlords, would on your correspondent's theory be that their rents would be 95 millions and their taxes 45. How much will your correspondent give either way for the difference? And there would be no new difficulty if the taxes instead of 45 millions were 450 millions; the only difference being that the rents, if this theory were true, would rise to 500 millions, which would leave the landlords their net 50 millions as before.

It gives me great pleasure to see the "Free-Trade Farmer" again in the field. Let him stick to the text that two losses do not make one gain, and that the folly of distressing the farmer with a bar-iron monopoly, has not the slightest tendency to excuse the folly of distressing everybody else with a monopoly of food.

London, 14 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XIII.

THE OBJECT OF CORN LAWS, IS TO INCREASE THE QUANTITY OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCE WHICH WILL BE GIVEN FOR A FIXED QUANTITY OF AGRICULTURAL.

SIR,—If your correspondent "M." would allow me to make the suggestion in continuation of my former observations, I would say that a very little compression would be useful to him in fixing the ideas which are now seen spread over a large surface. For example, is not the fact with respect to the effect of Corn Laws upon agricultural and manufactured produce, simply that they are to *increase the quantity of the manufactured which will be given for a fixed quantity of the agricultural?* Money is only the instrument;

and the solid fact is, that the landowners confine the corn in the country to their own, in order that all other classes of society may bid higher and higher for the peck of corn. I think the individual of the industrious classes who can get this into his head, will not easily get it out again, or want a clue to guide him through all the delusions of "home markets," and the rest of the deceptions set on foot by the agriculturists.

Again, the device into which "M." seems to have no lack of insight, that there shall be a prohibition of foreign corn and a prohibition of foreign manufactures too, under the title of protection,—is it anything but a proposal that the benefits of foreign trade shall be cut off altogether, and that *we shall deny ourselves the advantages we might derive from the fact that we can produce things here for which things more valuable to us could be had from abroad?* This is the whole. Our island is to give up the food and other good things it might have from abroad in exchange for its home produce at an advantageous rate, and is to be comforted by being told that the foreign manufactures which would be willingly bought shall be excluded too. Thus there is to be a general combination for having the least possible quantity of good things in the country instead of the greatest; and out of this is to arise abundance to the inhabitants, and to the working classes in particular. It does not require much seeing into the mill-stone to perceive, that in all these questions there are things which cut both ways; that the result is not what at first looks likely; and that there is often a process going on, by which disappointments ensue like those we were liable to in childhood for want of having sufficiently weighed the operation of complex causes in this complex world.

In this last case, the fallacy consists in holding out, that everybody is to get better wages than everybody. The agriculturists are to benefit at the expense of the manufacturers, and the manufacturers at the expense of the agriculturists; the real result being, that both are to be left to struggle against a diminished quantity of food and of good things in general.

Again, is not the dispute as to what is or is not a good market, briefly settled by saying, *that it is the best market where we get most for our goods.* If this be so, further dispute about a *good* market may be omitted; we want only the *best.*

Where the people exercise their rights as free men, it is their own fault if they do not regulate their commercial

concerns on the basis of encouraging the pouring of their industry into those kinds of production for which there are natural advantages, or in other words which *will pay*, and eschewing and ridiculing the idiots' practice, which because a line of business *will not pay*, insists on encouraging men to go into it by offering to make the rest of the community find them the difference. A gardener might as well encourage his crab-apples, and ask the community to pay him for sacks of nonpareils.

There are some men, among whom I am afraid is your correspondent great "O," whom nothing can persuade not to get worse and worse. Machinery, it appears, is now the cause of "O"'s alarm. Does he think he can alter it; does he think he can prevent it? And if he does, are we to stand still till he has effected it? It would have been as reasonable to stop for the putting down of machinery, the first time a man was found using a plough instead of a spade, or a spade instead of his fingers. The truth is, machinery will never be put down, because everybody will use it in his own case, and there are at every step two to be benefited by it for one that is to be damaged. Under these circumstances, it would be much more politic to endeavour to trace the remedies of nature's providing, among the foremost of which is the extension of foreign commerce if trade were only free,—than to sit down in despondency under a source of suffering, which can only be counteracted by taking nature's remedy along with it.

I think I could say a word upon the dangers which beset Co-operation; but hardly like to do it without invitation.

London, 13 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XVI.

SAVAGES CAN GET "EMPLOYMENT."—WHY CANNOT OTHER PEOPLE?

SIR,—Will you allow me to ask, what is the meaning of the phrase, "They cannot get employment"? Savages can get employment; for if they want it they can make it. They can go forth and support life upon the labour of the chase; or they can apply themselves to the fabrication of arms or

tools at home, with the effect of obtaining support by their exchange. It appears then that crowds of men in this country which is not savage, cannot perform any operation by which life can be sustained. Hands have they, but they cannot work; or which comes to the same thing, they cannot find any way of working the result of which shall be to live. Mouths have they, but they cannot fill them, neither can anybody else; for there is a law that there shall only be so much food, and all above the number for it shall be killed off. And killed off they are accordingly. Some die in grey and parti-coloured jackets in the hulks; some live on further, and arrive at the hells on earth which their rulers spiritual and temporal maintain on the other side the globe. Those in whom the love of life is less strong, lie down in holes and corners, and give up the ghost without the assistance of the temporal arm. A Legionary stood at the corner of a street, and when he got an alms he rushed off to the place where the landlords' allowance of bread was steaming for such as could subscribe to the landlords' coach-horses, with the ardour of a man who had his life to save. He stood in the midst of food; but though dying, "discipline severe," the habit of not stealing, remnants perhaps of old saws impressed on him by a bread-taxing clergy, or the fear of the hulks and Norfolk Island, subdued the pangs of nature, and made him submit to the rule which cut him off from claim on food.

And why should it not be so? Must not the landlords live? Must not they live well? Who would see to our poor-houses and our prisons, if they were not fat and in good condition? Besides, their families; must not they wear muslin and lace, to keep the lace-makers? Is it not the first duty of the poor to keep the rich, in order that the rich may keep the poor? Do not they employ as many as they can; and are they not willing to employ as many more, if they will only contrive to live upon the landlords' corn?

Here then is the explanation of the mystery. Two men will not starve when one will suffice; a highly laudable species of economy. The landlords limit the food that shall be there to eat; and because there would be no use in two thousand men agreeing to die upon half the food that can keep soul and body together, they either toss up for it or play a cross-and-jostle match, and one thousand lives while the other dies. *This* is the want of employment; it is the dying-off of the "surplus population," the whelps and kittens it is not the landlords' interest to keep, or which is the same thing, which cannot be kept on the stock the landlord permits

to exist; and therefore the weak, the feeble, those who have neither strength to distinguish them from the rest nor marks to please the master's eye, are consigned to the horse-pond in parliament provided.

And yet we cant of charity, and employment for the poor. The court, grand agent as courts are ever, in keeping up delusions hostile to the people, parades itself in trappings "all of British manufacture." As if it made any difference in the long run, whether they order a hundred pounds' worth of goods to wear, or a hundred pounds' worth to send abroad to exchange for what they wear. With such husks and draff are the people fed, from the same source that patronizes Landowners' Associations, and lends its name to the limitation of our food.

The landowners were offering a premium lately, for the best way of making gruel for their human hounds,—cheap cottage dishes where a sack of oatmeal shall unite with water in the proportion that shall get most work out of the peasant bowels it grates on. Could not they extend their genius beyond a cookery-book, and with the aid of the other establishment, bestow on us a "New Whole Duty of Man," or "Rules for Living and Dying, on Five Shillings and Sixpence a-week rent-free"?

London, 20 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. VIII.

Principle of Popular Action.

Sir,—I take up an expression in your leader of the 8th of January, and beg to repeat my testimony, to the truth of the one thing needful at this moment being to break down "the Whig rampart for obstructing liberty's advance." The thing is firmly seated; it has been bought and paid for; the men that were paid for it, have their seats in parliament, and us that they could not trust for partnership they turned out, and nobody has had the spirit to take us up. The strength of us and you together, is but small; for though we are many, we are the "slave class." The more need only to make use of what we have; and small as it is, there is a way, if we would take it.

And that way is briefly this. To avow the principle, of using such power as we have, to vote always against the party who are in place, unless where they will join in voting for a candidate of our own. This is the only way, by which an oppressed people, placed between two powerful parties equally wicked, unprincipled, and hostile to the interests of honest men, can have a chance to work its way; and in this way it may and will. Every change weakens one of our enemies. We consider both, as foes whose domination we are trying to destroy by dashing one against the other. Our cool opinion and judgment is, that of the two, the last is always worst; and we take side with the weakest, as we would in a combat between two noxious animals which we had no other means of resisting. We wish to exchange the pest that is in, for the pest that is out; believing both equally the enemies of human kind, and waiting for the time when more direct operations may be within our reach. Instead of being the dupes of the cry of "keeping out the Tories," we want to bring them in as a cow-pock to the Whigs; and we hope by running one foul disease against the other, in the end to get rid of both.

If you will reflect on this, you will see it is easily gone about. Its effect of course will be at first proportioned to our strength. But this is the way to "receive our own with usury." Though but a single talent, it ought not to be wrapped in a napkin, but considered as what we are responsible for to Him that made us, and who will one day call us to account for its employment. Reflect what millions of the human race are at this moment burning with just ardour against the public criminals who have dishonoured us, and how essential it is to our individual credit that we should be able to prove that we were not of the fraternity. When a native of Great Britain is spit upon through the civilized and uncivilized world, as the acts of the ministry that tramples on us are rapidly bringing within the compass of probability, will it be nothing saved, to be able to show that we were among the few who protested? See how with curious skill, they have contrived to place us in the position with respect to the French people, which would justify the reduction of our national means and power to any extent which the customs of European war would authorize; and this with the idea of making us their necessary slaves, to grind in their mill, and bleed in their ranks against men who are our friends. Suppose for once Providence should arrange itself on the side of justice and honour; would it be nothing to belong to the

party of civilized humanity in the hour of its triumph? We are not contending with political adversaries, but with a successful felonry of mean smuggling reprobates, who have disgraced an honourable flag into the symbol of piracy and scoundrelism; men with whom we would not sit down in our houses, whom we turn away from in the streets, as I remember running into a door-way in Parliament-Street the day the news arrived of the execution of the Canadian prisoners, to avoid the chance of having to return the recognition of a minister who knew me in the House of Commons, which would have been the first time I ever found myself face to face with a murderer.

If we could but give over our follies, and act like reasonable men as well as honest, we might be art and part in the triumph of free mankind, over the least imposing traitors whose memories are pickled in the Surgeons' Hall of history.

London, 19 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Midland Counties Illuminator.

No. IV.

Ancient Politics.—The Romans and their Agrarian Law.

Sir,—As in my list I recollect referring to events considerably beyond the limits of what are called the "politics of the day," I will proceed to attempt some further illustration of the history of the ancient time.

The most striking exemplification of ancient policy, was in the power of the Romans. A French writer has justly described them as "the most determined brigands that have appeared on earth." And this in truth is a description of what the politics of those times were. The policy was to keep the numerous classes in the most perfect preparation for being the instruments of the higher, and then to employ them in war for the interests of the classes that directed. A notable instance of this, is in the case of what was called the Agrarian Law; which few readers of newspapers have not seen appealed to by the landed squires of the day, as if it was something that told in their favour and not against them. In fact the squires, in some few instances perhaps with a malicious knowledge, but in most from the system of deception employed upon them by their pedagogues in their tender years, represent the Agrarian Law as a perilous example of the

propensity of "the people" to a division of property. Whereas the real facts were these. The Roman armies, in the early stages of their history, had neither pay nor prize-money. They were assemblages of brigands summoned by, order of their chiefs for brief attacks upon their neighbours' lands; and when they had succeeded in their object, the division of the *lands* was what was to pay for all. But behold the result. When the thieves had succeeded, the thieves' aristocracy kept all for themselves; or if some pickings found their way into the hands of the minor robbers, they were the smallest it was practicable to contrive. The consequence was, that whenever the popular party attempted to make head against their aristocracy, the quarrel always took the turn of a demand for the owing lands. When a few years had salved over the fraud, the aristocrats took the course of declaring these demands to be "for a division of property;" and the people on the other hand put forward, what we should consider in these days a clumsy and imperfect effort at redress, in the shape of a bill to declare that no man should keep more than five hundred acres, while, as they said, "the share of a private citizen was hardly enough *for a roof to cover him, or a grave to bury him in.*" In fact it was just such an effort as the sailors of the fleet would make, if they complained that the admirals and post-captains had divided all the prize-money, and begged for an Act of Parliament to say that no man should have above £50,000. The commons took little or nothing by their motions; and the quarrel went on from age to age, with diminished chances of making the aristocracy refund. Every man who stood up for the people took his stand upon this ground; and the aristocracy as constantly made a diversion, by engaging the people in foreign wars, by way of stopping the demand for Reform at home. The last stand appears to have been made by the Gracchi; who were two Roman aristocrats that took the people's side, and were murdered by the aristocracy in consequence, and the murder of their reputations kept up (for they were really great and virtuous men) by Tory schoolmasters *in secula seculorum.*

This was the Agrarian Law, which modern squirearchy is so fond of appealing to as proof of the perilous propensities of the vulgar who do not go to grammar schools. It is a sort of evidence, of what grammar schools are for, and what is done there. Perhaps some time or other, grammar schools will be made to tell the lion's story.

London, 20 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XIII.

The Corn Laws the great Encouragers of Machinery.

Sir,—In running over the Third Lecture, it occurs to me that the magnitude of the loss arising from the Bread Tax, is a thing scarcely capable of being reduced to numerical calculation. What would be the numerical amount of the loss arising to a man from cutting off his four limbs in his infancy? Who can tell? it must depend upon knowing what he could have earned, and what he could have done if he had been let alone. The smallest part of the evil of the Corn Laws, is what is measured by the extra price given for the bread eaten, and the tax paid; the grand loss, to which the other is as nothing, is of the bread that is never eaten and never earned. The only substantial approach to a measure of the evil, seems to be this. It is the difference between the value of the whole industrial produce of the country in a free market, and the value of the agricultural by itself. Or it is the difference between the value of the estates of those whose wealth lies beneath the soil or on the water, and of those whose estates lie on the surface which grows corn. All the difference, is confiscated at the command of the owners of the soil, and a fraction of it applied to their own gain; while the remainder, being the difference between what the landlords facetiously call the "home trade" and the trade of the world at large which is cut off, is thrown into the sea for the good of nobody. Every man who has either formed industrial establishments for himself, or received them from his predecessors, suffers confiscation; and tamely allows the plunderers to run about applying the same term to anything that threatens the loss of their iniquity.

On the subject of machinery, it may be sufficient here to say, that if a prize had been proposed to the inventor of the surest, most constantly and universally acting, encouragement to the multiplication of machinery, it must have been awarded to the man who devised the Corn Laws.

Every master manufacturer who has a chance of selling his goods abroad, has a bale of his goods set before him and is told, "You shall not compete with the foreigner, without

paying a tax to the landlords first. If you grumble, *take it out of the wages of your operatives.* And when you cannot do that any longer, *sit down and invent machinery.*" Thus the landlords hold out a premium on machinery, and the operatives appear to like to have it so. The master manufacturer is driven into a corner between the loss of his trade, and inventing machinery to help to pay the demands of the landlords; and the operative is driven into a corner between starving, and making any improvement in the powers of machinery which he can get a few pounds or shillings by selling; and by the combination of the two, machinery is carried to the highest pitch that necessity, which is the mother of invention, can devise. Surely there wants no further asking where machinery comes from; and small hope there is of its receiving any check, while the law is thus directed to force its employment, with the power of a perpetual screw, into every corner capable of receiving it.

But the practical question for the operatives after all, appears to be, whether because they consider themselves injured by machinery, they will try to mend it by prohibiting the sale of the things made. Their complaint is, that too many things are made and too easily; if the demand could be caused to keep pace with the increase of things produced, they would be where they were, but it does not. The conclusion therefore come to, is that they will stop such demand as there is. Or if it is not this, it is the next thing to it; which is, that they will not bestir themselves to oppose.

London, 20 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XVI.

THE WHIGS GONE OVER TO THE HOLY ALLIANCE.—POLICY FOR THE FRIENDS OF THE CHARTER.—EASE WITH WHICH IT MIGHT BE PUT IN EXECUTION.

SIR,—Allow me to direct to you, as to the head-quarters of the opposition made to the quiet course of Whig successes a year ago, some observations on the further turn affairs have taken, and the efforts required in consequence.

When a fair, honourable, and open raising of the standard of the Charter was on that occasion made at Manchester, the Whigs met it by subornation of perjury, and sent round to

the polling-booths a direction to refuse to record votes for the candidate. The next time a candidate on the same side appears, he shall cry down the Whig credit by the bellman, with a broad statement of all the categories in which they will place themselves if they repeat the trick. Whether it served them much, is not so certain; for numbers of those who were officially informed they should not vote for their own candidate, voted for the Tory. And great was the scandal of these perjury-loving Whigs, when they understood that the candidate they had abused, had told his friends to vote the next day for the Tory*. The lesson is too good to be lost; and now I come to the improvement.

Since then, the Whig ministers have gone over with bag and baggage to the Holy Alliance. The cry of "Keep out the Tories," as everybody who had sense foresaw, meant "Wait for the Whigs;" and now we have them where they were looked for. The case has come, which has always been viewed by the doctors of the constitution as one of the most serious that could arise, when the two great parties of Whigs and Tories have combined, and by mutual departures from the height of their professions, made common cause against the people. In this state of things, there is only one practical course for the people, or those of them who chuse to be active, to pursue. They may as well lay their wants and wishes before a god made of a bullock's horns and a broken bottle, like the negroes on the coast of Africa, as put themselves to the trouble of saying they want this and they wish that. The first preliminary to getting anything, is to show there is something they can do. And what they can do is this. The great parties are pretty equally balanced; a fillip might throw either of them over. Let then the people, the unrepresented, employ what influence they have,—and though it is not much, it is something,—in everywhere procuring votes against the party that is in office. There is not a Chartist that can refuse to join in this. Turn out the men, who have gone over to the Holy Alliance as the means of preventing all progress towards the Charter; and when you have done this, see whether somebody is not inclined to help you, who shows no symptoms of it now.

I beg distinctly to point out the fact, that without waiting to dispute whether they will or will not go for anything but the Charter, the Chartists if they chuse to go for it that way,

* To make this intelligible, it must be noted, that in consequence of a dispute as to who was Returning Officer, there were to be two elections for Manchester on two following days.

may take the first step of turning out the ministers, in a time nobody can tell how short. There is scarcely an election where the votes the Chartists can command, if resolutely given to the opponents of the ministry, would not have a chance of deciding the event. Elections happen on an average once a month; and three or four elections would upset the ministry.

If the Chartists pretend to have any community of action like other political parties, why should not they take up this plan wherever they exist? The friends of the Charter set them a good example at Manchester. But under the altered state of things, there must be an altered course; we were not fighting the Holy Alliance then. Let those who are afraid to vote for an opponent of the traitor Whigs, go their way, and let the others go on. The thing should be done solemnly, religiously. The Whigs have made war privily on the people of England and their allies; show whether you dare make war openly on *them*. Take the white colours as at Manchester; there is a virtue in them, they are easy to be had. But, improving on the movement at Manchester, proceed with colours flying to vote for the opposition candidate. If you want music, play up the *Marseillaise;* when Whigs turn Holy Allies, Chartists may indulge their musical taste where they please. But remember the air is a grave one, not a jig; a band-master will know what I mean by saying it should be played twice as slow as a common quick step, but still make a quick step, only marking the time with the same foot, instead of "left, right." If there is any cousinship among Chartists, they might set this going generally; and in six weeks it would be found out the Chartists were somebody.

I desire to see this begin at Manchester, and spread. So if the men who supported me well before, did not expend all their pluck on that occasion, I hope to see them in the field. We have been abused after the sort which is the oldest recipe for making men successful.

London, 20 *Nov.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XIV.

"EMPLOYMENT" MUST BE USEFUL EMPLOYMENT.—NO USE IN IT IF THE SALE OF THE PRODUCE IS TO BE PROHIBITED.

SIR,—I feel greatly obliged to Mr. J. Bell for both the matter and manner of his observations on my previous

letters; and will endeavour to make my statement of the points which may tend towards loosing any differences which may be between us.

Mr. Bell thinks it must be admitted that society cannot be in a good state "unless employment can be provided for those whose lot it is to live by labour." To this there can be no objection, only with the proviso that it must be *useful* labour, labour which somebody wants and is willing to pay for. As a man would have no right to complain if he spent the summer in digging holes in his field and filling them up again, and then discovered he had no crop;—so he has no right to demand that any other man shall supply the refusal of nature, and give him corn for having employed himself in the same unprofitable manner. A man has a claim to what he can create by his own labour directly, or to what he can persuade other men to give him for it. But if he can do neither of these, it does not appear that he has an unlimited right to call upon other men to make up the deficiency out of what they can make for themselves. By "unlimited right" is intended to keep clear of the question, of whether men in certain states of want have not a claim upon relief from others. But what it is intended to stand upon, is that one-half of the world has not an unlimited right to say to the other half, we cannot keep ourselves out of our own doing, therefore keep us out of yours. That it has a right to prevent that other half from hindering it from keeping itself, is quite another subject.

But without going over every point which might admit of a discussion, I will recall the main grounds of my former argument, which were, that machinery *will be, whether we like it or not*, and that after all, *it may not be so bad as it looks*. From which I came to this conclusion, that the greatest of all errors, was to allow the cutting-off *of what manifestly was of the nature of a remedy*. If society is not in a good state where employment is not provided, how much less can it be in a good state where employment is hindered by the prohibition of selling the proceeds?

It does not appear assured, that "there is evidently a difficulty in getting rid of what the existing machinery can at any time produce." There is a difficulty if the sale of the produce is to be prohibited; and so there would be if a sentry from the dragoon regiment in Nottingham was placed at the door of any particular workshop with orders to let nothing come out. But this is not "a difficulty in getting rid," of anything but the sentry.

The misery, which I should be the first to point out and insist upon as the proof of my argument, I should be disposed to trace to "the increase of machinery *combined with the prohibition of the sale of the produce.*" If a child were dipped in plaster of Paris so that it could not by any possibility increase in size, and then fed with everything that would give it a tendency to grow, I should not say the misery was caused by the nature of the food, or at all events not without mentioning its combination with the other cause.

On the ultimate effects of machinery, there is a great deal to be said; and the result may be, as before intimated, that it may not be so bad as it looks. But it was not brought forward by me, as what the "half-employed half-starved mechanic" was to look to with love and admiration as the instrument of "bettering his condition." On the contrary, I rather produced it as what he could not help if he tried, and therefore he might as well try to help something else. There are other instances of questions in this state. For example, a man of eminence was lately heard to discuss the balance of evil that would have arisen to society from man being immortal, or even living to the age of Methuselah. And he really showed some grounds for his conclusions. Yet however right he might be, nobody expects to see people going about rejoicing in the brevity of life, or would think of calling upon them to pick out that subject for daily and hourly congratulations. But whether it be best or not, it is a thing that always has been and always will; or at all events there is the evidence that all that has yet been done to alter it, is but as a bucket to the ocean. We may therefore justifiably prefer asking what can be done in the opposite direction, and how life, confessedly uncertain and short and likely to be, can be made useful and happy by the means within our reach, —to either spending any extraordinary portion of it in seeking for the means of immortality, or omitting to do what good is possible in one direction, because there is small prospect of doing anything in the other.

To take up your correspondent's comparison with the Kamschatkadale, the fairest comparison perhaps would be, to suppose the polar man shut out by law from obtaining provisions either in youth or age in return for his labour, and then shut up in his old age to starve in a Bastille, with a special direction that he shall not have a lick of oil on Christmas Day. If as he is, he can retire to his winter habitation stocked with winter provision, lucky man is he! But what would he do if he had a whaling aristocracy,

who said he should eat no whales' fat but theirs, and must stint himself accordingly?

London, 20 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. V.

APPLAUSE FOR SUCCESSFUL ROBBERIES.—CONTEMPT OF THE PEOPLE FOR THE MORALS OF THEIR GOVERNORS.

SIR,—Permit me to express my admiration of the justice of your remarks on the subject of war, and particularly of such wars as it our misfortune to pay for. You see what an aristocracy is made of. You see how little they are substantially improved since the days of their cow-stealing ancestors, who tribulated your forefathers (honest men have not *ancestors*) when that particular mode of larceny held out the best prospect of a dishonest maintenance.

In another week you will see the robber ministry asking the applause of the country because their robberies have been successful. Just so the ancient chieftain counted the heads of captured cows, and appealed to them in proof that right was on his side. And as the serfs that waited on him called these his "glorious successes," so you will see deeds for which the hangman were the fitter rewarder, pronounced honourable by your representatives in parliament assembled. For the chief actors, there will be another place, —I don't mean *that*, —they must be removed to another place in this world, kept for the encouragement of successful banditti, where you and yours must pay for an hereditary exaltation to the power of misgoverning. If men were animals once removed from swine, would they not ask themselves what connexion there is between having conducted a discreditable war in India, blotted with the sacrifice of every principle sacred to Britons and to honest men,—or having applied a force in China under circumstances compared to which the highwayman's pistol is deserving canonization,—what connexion can exist between these foul deeds, and the right of settling hereditarily and against your will what shall be law for you and your posterity? Why were not Abershaw and others, whose "glorious successes" were equally eminent in their day, honoured after the like sort? Was there not as much chance that they should make good rulers? Was there

anything about the original Abershaw—*Lord* Abershaw—which should disqualify him by comparison; and was not his heir as likely to be a good easy-going gentleman, eschewing the perils of the road and preferring the pleasures of the battue or the fox-hunt? O people! people! what thick-witted fools must have been among your progenitors, that even to this day the wits should run so muddy.

An admirable illustration you have made, in hinting at the parallel which would take place if Russia, Germany, Egypt, and America, should wage war with Great Britain, to compel her to receive their surplus corn. The only objection is, the thing is impossible; they would not wage war with Great Britain but with her misgovernors. We are ruled by rank rogues; at every step they stamp the difference between themselves and honesty, and raise the anger which must issue in their defeat. Had the *People* made such base avowal of unchecked villainy, such glorying in their shame, such bidding for national disgrace compounded of the union of individual infamies,—what limit should we have known to the lessons read, the warnings drawn?

Honest industrious *People*, who murder not neither do you steal, cultivate a proud sense of the difference heaven has made between you, and those who unhappily have the direction of your fortunes; remembering always, that this will not be eternal, but the contempt with which you view your inferiors in morals, in honesty, and in true wisdom, must end ere long in setting you beyond their reach.

London, 25 *Jan.* 1841.

P.S.—I am just returned from the Leeds Meeting. The Chartists have gained a great point, in forcing themselves to be received as half-and-half in the meetings of the professing Liberals. But they must take care of themselves; it will be diamond-cut-diamond. The object on the other side, is to get up a show of doing something, which may assist the present ministry, and prevent the Chartists from taking any decided course at the coming elections. The bait held out, is that they will make Household Suffrage approach within an imperceptible difference to Universal; on which they will say the most that is possible, and do the least. If the Chartists allow themselves to be, as the women say, "deluded," let them lay no part of the blame on me. They are right in going on; but they must keep a sharp eye to their company.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XV.

Coalition of Whigs and Tories against the Demands of the People.

Sirs,—Allow me to follow up my last by suggesting, that without hurrying anybody who wishes to keep the vessel of the state a little longer "in irons," as the seaman's expression is, the only way to proceed when it is determined the time is really come, will be to follow the plan which has been already proposed in some quarters, and act vigorously against whichever of the two divisions of the Conservative body *is in place.* And now I will proceed to canvass the objections and recommendations which may occur to such a process.

The cry of "Keep out the Tories" has been repeated till it must have lost its effect even on the little boys. It was the strategem of the grey wolves entering the sheepfold under the cry of keep out the brown. Everybody knows now, that a compact had been entered into for letting the ministers enjoy impunity in certain directions, under the stipulation that they did not outdo the Tories; and that those who were in the enjoyment of the price laid down, were the raisers of the cry. Under these circumstances, the weight of this objection may be considered to have gone by.

To all men in the habit of thinking, and who were not politicians for the pot, the great and serious danger always was, that after one division of the aristocracy had raised itself to office by the assistance of the people, it should offer combination with the other division, upon terms tolerable to both. The reason why this danger did not come into play before, was because there had not been time to test the necessity of the case, and bring down haughty stomachs on both sides to consent to the necessary concessions. The Tories did not know the Whigs would be able to keep them out so long; and the Whigs did not think they should be so soon reduced to throw themselves into the arms of foreign powers and the Holy Alliance, as the means of carrying support from the Tories against the demands of the people. This evil, then, of a coalition, the sorest and most dangerous of the whole it was possible for the most vivid imagination to foresee, has actually come upon us; and the pretended leaders of the people, under the title which they monopolized of "good reformers," are the

men who sold the sheep. If anybody doubts it, the trotters and the wool may be found upon them for looking for.

Here then is a new case for the doctors of the constitution. What is to be done when the two parties of Whigs and Tories have agreed, and the professed popular leaders in parliament have taken a "consideration" for connivance? The case is one of infinite peril; in fact it is *the* case, which on the theoretical examination of our existing form of government, has always been seen impending. It has pleased heaven to put the solution upon us; and we must solve it as we may.

Visible way there appears but one; and if this is so, it is of no use to say it is slow, or it is uncertain, or we are weak. Such as see into the plot, though they were as few as the righteous of the patriarch, must use the force they have, to get more. And the way to get more, is to direct what they have, always against the party *that is in*. In this manner they will fulfil the object of first necessity, which is to try to blow up the compact; and they will fulfil the object of subsequent necessity, which is to try to weaken each party by the help of the other. The man who asks whether we expect *more* from those who are to succeed, may be set down as in the plot. He has made a compact for our getting no more from the *in;* and he wants to see how long the knowledge that we are to have no more from the *out*, will keep us in check under the dispensation. Our object is first, to blow up the compact. If we get no more from *this* change, we shall from the next, or the next after that. We shall fall in with a time when somebody will concede us something for assistance or neutrality. The first interest of the robbed, is to make impression on those who have his purse *now;* he will deal with those to whom it may be transferred, as he finds the opportunity arise.

As no man need start at names, there is no occasion for concealing that "the people called Chartists," were the promulgators of this plan of campaign; and that, if they were disposed to strengthen themselves by more of a reasonable union with other classes of the aggrieved, as at some time they must, it would make a good basis for a demand of assistance to their own peculiar objects in return.

London, 16 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. III.

THE CHARTISTS AT THE LEEDS MEETING.—MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THEIR CONDUCT THERE.

SIR,—At Leeds the Chartists have unexpectedly gained a point of advantage, by forcing the professing Liberals to admit them to their consultations in the proportion of half-and-half. This augurs well for their having made up their minds to pursue human ends by human means. They might have looked out for their Fifth Monarchy long enough, before they had got any nearer it by the mere enunciation of their longings to possess it.

As it was clearly nothing but necessity which induced this concession to them, the same necessity, while it lasts, will enable them to enforce the same demand generally, which will go some way towards establishing the right. But it is interesting to know what that necessity was, how long it will last, and consequently what period the Chartists have in which to work.

The necessity was twofold. First, there was the necessity of getting up a demonstration of something like an attempt at further reform, for the purpose of helping the Whigs over the difficulties which might arise just now out of the despair of the reforming part of the community. And next, there was the desirable object, of trying to distract the Chartists from taking a decided course at the ensuing elections, where there is every appearance of their having the power of ejecting a ministry whose existence hangs on the turn of a die. To this intent, the bait will be thrown out to them, of making Household Suffrage approach to Universal Suffrage till the difference is nothing. And this will go on till the objects have been gained; and then the Chartists will hear no more about it. The Chartists are simple and innocent, new to the characters and manners of public men, and have very indistinct ideas of the dangers they incur in the connexion which the Whig-Radicals have held out. But like other men, they must live and learn. The more they count upon breaches of engagements, the less they will be disappointed. That an engagement shall be broken is one thing; to be disappointed by it is another. Among the public men concerned, are some who have not their match on earth, for the coolness with which they will pass their word at a congress of parties, and declare black white ten minutes after. It will be ludicrous to see the

contortions into which the Chartists will probably throw themselves, when something of this kind happens to them; but it is what they must expect. At all events they are fore-armed.

If to their present success the Chartists will add the policy of attacking the party in power at all coming elections, they will wonderfully increase the reverence their new allies will have for them, and provide for securing some substantial advantage, independently of what they may or may not take by the consequences of the other. For, truth to say, their chances from the remainder are of a doubtful kind. It was wise and politic to accept the offer, as it is wise to accept a score or two of lottery-tickets if proffered for nothing. But the odds are great, after all, against much success. The professing Liberals have no more idea of helping the Chartists to anything like Universal Suffrage, than they have of helping them to their own estates and properties. It is diamond cut diamond on both sides; the Chartists, therefore, must take care they do not leave a monument of the credulity of their order.

A few words may not be out of place on the subject of the Leeds meeting and its conduct, especially as misrepresentation is abroad. Seven thousand men (which I judged to be the number) are not easily brought to the silence required to hear one man talk. But there never was as much intended interruption, as takes place every night at a minor theatre when the music does not play up upon demand. Of whistles there might be a corps of six; and about an equal strength of performers producing sounds like a muffled trombone, which are understood to pass for groans. A reporter has written to a Dublin paper, that after the speeches had commenced, "the Chartists broke the barriers at two different places at the same time, and caused a most violent uproar." There is no end of human fallibility; but the facts were, that the half-crown and eighteen-penny seats, which were in the centre, were nearly empty,—sad symptom of slackness in the middle classes. Whereupon, after some consultation on the platform, a functionary in all the dignity of white wand and bunch of ribbons at his button-hole, was directed to march across the empty space, and invite the holders of seats on the outside to clamber over and conceal the nakedness of the land; which was done accordingly. And this operation being found tedious and destructive to the quiescence of the masses, the more summary process was at last adopted, of removing or breaking down some rails, and so allowing free ingress to the flood. It is possible this last was not accomplished till after

the speaking had begun; but the order was given before. So indifferent is it where the people are concerned, whether they behave well or ill, as far as they are to gain any reputation by the difference.

A line across the meeting, of about the relative dimensions of the Milky Way on a celestial globe, was addicted to flourishing of hats, and considered to represent the Chartists of the *extrême gauche*. There were also some symptoms of an Irish or O'Connell party. But on the whole, the seven thousand men were about a tenth part as turbulent as a House of Commons, which is never a tenth part of their number. So much for the comparative orderliness of different classes.

A Chartist leader, upon occasion of the seven thousand making more noise than the member for Kilkenny, made use of a violent expression which is probably a stock figure for compelling silence at Chartist assemblages. But they who should take their ideas of the urgency, from what is witnessed when an actor has committed a *faux pas*, or an actress fallen sick upon a quarrel with the manager, would suffer under most exaggerated notions of the evil.

Blackheath, 28 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XV.

THE AGE OF WISHES.—THE RESOURCE LEFT.

SIR,—This is the age of wishes. The Chartists wish for Universal Suffrage and nothing else. Other divisions of politicians set their affections on attaining to various degrees and altitudes of Reform, or at least profess to do; for there is always the doubt how far they desire to do anything but preserve appearances. Ballot, Suffrage household, lodger, or educational, Abolition of the Corn Laws, all and each of these equally suggest the question, not whether they would be good in themselves, but whether anybody can show the way to come nearer to them than before.

Time was, when the Tories were thought to be all that stood between the public and the enjoyment of these sources of felicity. But the world is wiser now. Whig Lords count it

madness to think of conceding them; and the very Reform Bill is declared to have been framed with a distinct view to the preponderance of the public wrong. What shall the people do, in a conjuncture where their supposed friends have gone over to their avowed enemies?

In this position of things, there is no use in any man's declaring what he would like if he could get it, unless he can at the same time produce some reasonable plan for making progress towards its attainment. To none is this more applicable than to the Corn Law repealers. They may wish; but have they any prospect of enforcing their wishes? The existing ministers have declared they should be mad to think of such a thing. Can any but madmen then expect from them further aid? And the same with other desired reforms. Is there any man in his sober senses, who seriously expects to see the ministers suggesting or conceding any useful reform, after the junction they have made with Toryism in its worst form of a Holy Alliance to avoid it? The thing is beyond credence; the most lively hoper does not hope it, he only affects the passion for some ulterior purpose.

At this moment then the popular party stands in the position of having no friends among the usual claimants to political power. All are equally its foes. The danger has arrived, the greatest of all which the constituted state of things in this country was exposed to, when the coalition of the two parties distinguished as Whigs and Tories has thrown the people on their own resources for protection.

If any resource can be found, it must be one applicable upon the spot, and independent of much or general concert among bodies of men; for this reason among others, that all the usual leaders of such concert, may be suspected of being in the plot.

There appears to be but one course that possesses these qualities. When the great and acknowledged parties have combined for the destruction of the popular interest, the people have no remedy but to act as vigorously as they are able against the party which is in power.

London, 20 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XIV.

" Co-operation."—Sources of Disappointment.

Sir,—The sources of disappointment which I see in the way of what is known by the name of " Co-operation," are briefly the two following; which are put down only for the sake of attracting to them such attention as they may deserve.

The first is, that I think the " Co-operators " are not aware, that they are doing nothing but what mankind has in all ages been doing under another name—the name of *Trade*.

The other, that they have framed an exaggerated idea of what it is they are to gain, and an under-estimate of the chances there are against their compassing it.

When a man undertakes to make, for instance, waistcoats, and send them to a certain warehouse, and there take in return what somebody else shall have sent on the same speculation, as, for instance, shoes; it really seems to me that he does nothing but what tailors and shoemakers have been doing in all ages. There is no great novelty in the invention of a bazaar where goods shall be received for what at view shall be determined to be their value, with liberty to take it out in any other kind of things which shall be found in the same bazaar with their respective prices ticketed on them. And if there is added, what perhaps may be some novelty, a plan for expressing the respective values by hours of labour instead of money, it remains to be proved that this does anything but impose a responsibility on the appraiser-general, and create more chances of dissatisfaction with the general concern. If a tailor sees his waistcoat ticketed at 15*s.*, while shoes are ticketed at 7*s.* 6*d.* a-pair, he is much better able to form an estimate whether the proposal that he shall carry off two pair of shoes for his waistcoat is fair, than if he sees the one ticketed at twelve hours' labour, and the other at six. He may raise dispute, whether an hour of a tailor is exactly the equivalent for an hour of a shoemaker; or he may state that he sees great difference between the cost of materials, and cannot comprehend why this should be overlooked. And if he is told that he must jump all these difficulties, and simply look on the tickets as an announcement that two pair of shoes

may be had for one waistcoat, he may reasonably ask why 15*s.* and 7*s.* 6*d.* would not have done as well, and where the tendency is to his having any advantage from the novel plan.

But the truth is, that men believe that in some way or other they are to make goods as fast as they are able, and never want a market. I ask, then, where is the evidence, that there will be anything done that is not now? If tailors and shoemakers think that by this invention they shall at all events secure that no shoemaker shall go without as many waistcoats as he can desire, and no tailor without as many shoes as he can wear; I answer that they will both of them be brought to a stand by the question, of where they are to get food during their employment. There is no provision at the co-operative bazaar for buying bread; or if there is, it can only be at the going prices while there are the going laws. The shoemaker will soon find himself called off from his expected abundance of waistcoats, by his wife and family exclaiming that he must forego the comforts of his outward man, and try to push his shoes into exchanging for more bread; and the tailor in like manner in turn. I submit, therefore, that the discovery will be made, that the "co-operative" bazaar operates in no manner markedly different from any other bazaar; that if there is any difference, it is rather against the new invention by reason of its greater complexity, and the greater confidence to be reposed in the conductors, than the contrary; and that the end will be at the best no other, than could have been obtained by going to any other fair-dealing bazaar-keeper, and offering him goods at a price to be agreed upon, with the condition of taking out the value at the same shop. Bazaars may be a good invention; but nobody ever supposed that by the invention of bazaars the condition of the working classes was to receive any serious change.

And now, if I have shown any reasons for my belief, that the "co-operatives" are only keeping a shop, I come to the chances they have for succeeding against any other shopkeepers. What dazzles them, is the idea that great gains are made by shopkeepers, and why should not they take them themselves? For example, the original Sir Robert Peel made half a million of money by cotton-spinning. Why should not the "co-operatives" be their own cotton-spinners, and divide this sum among them? But why did Sir Robert Peel make all this money instead of somebody else? It was because by very minute savings in the particular instance, but amounting to a great deal when put together,—by having

more skill, and more economy, and more capital than his competitors,—he contrived to make cotton for an enormous number of wearers, and in the course of, say fifty years, accumulate half a million. That was at the rate (skipping the powers of accumulation) of £10,000 a year; which if he had 200,000 customers, was at the rate of a shilling a-year apiece. So that if 200,000 co-operatives had met together, and had all Sir Robert's skill, and Sir Robert's luck, and Sir Robert's power of overlooking all he employed and preventing anybody every now and then running away with the bag, or in any other way walking off with the oyster and leaving the shells, they might have gained and divided—*a shilling a-year apiece.* And if they fell short of their expectations by a shilling a-year, their whole plan would have been blown up, and they might as well or better have gone to Sir Robert.

In a hasty sketch of this kind, it is impossible that many points should not be open to inquiry, and possibly to objection. But perhaps you will think there is some matter for reflection.

London, 20 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XVII.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION.—FOLLY OF PUTTING OFF A GOOD THING FOR A BETTER.

SIR,—A nation cannot and ought not to be far from important changes and revolutions, where it is possible that "an impression has gone abroad," and respectable and intelligent men vouch for there being good grounds for the impression, "that not a week passes in which there are not persons dying of starvation," mainly through the fact that they are prevented by the tyranny of the powerful classes from living by the produce of their industry.

History may be vainly ransacked, for anything approaching to a similar state of things. Tyranny unhappily is nothing new; but such a tyranny, is what no conjuncture in the world's existence has elsewhere witnessed. Nothing preserved or preserves the authors from the rudest of all explosions, the consequence of prolonged misrule, except the strange madness which seized the numerous classes on the instigation of their leaders, for postponing action upon

this point, till they should be able to compass some remote and distant object as the means of accomplishment. It was as if the prisoners in some fortress of despotism had found a mine ready charged and primed, to which there was nothing to do but apply a match and make a breach wide enough to march out twenty a-breast, and should postpone it upon the conviction that the thing would be better done by the action of some kind of *aurum fulminans*, and therefore they would wait till they got it. But if such a delusion is insanity, it is insanity which may any day go off. The governor is a fool if he goes to sleep on the assurance that his prisoners' mind will last. And if he does, he may be awakened at any hour of the night or day, by what may be called the developement of the simpler principle. The time will come, when his prisoners will consent to march out by the breach made with common gunpowder. Their leaders may descant to them on the neater and deeper cut that would be made by the other chemical agent, and the vastly improved comfort of the walk through the rubbish. But the love for liberty will overcome this nonsense, as soon as men clearly see that they can do this year, what they are invited to put off till next.

It may be permitted, therefore, to remonstrate both with the governor and those who happen only to have roofs and tenements within range of the explosion, and ask them what the sense and safety is, of leaving things in such a state on such an understanding. Get rid of your prisoners you cannot; they are the nation, and you cannot destroy the nation if you would. Day by day they are coming round to the conviction, that as to destroy abuses is the object of good government, so it is also the way; and that to refuse to remove practical wrongs, on pretence of a theoretic desire to do it better in some other way another time, is what men may agree to under the influence of a momentary delusion, but can never hold to in the end.

I state it again then, for the consideration of those whom it may concern, that if the industrious and numerous classes once arrive at a general knowledge of the way in which they are destroyed piecemeal by the operations of a government framed on the principle of doing them the greatest harm instead of the greatest good,—if they once come to see into the way in which they have been on one hand prevented from keeping themselves, and on the other cut off from the ancient legalized claim to support which acted to a certain extent as a check,—if they get to this point, and they are moving on it as fast as they can go,—the situation of the

governor with his prisoners at the mine under his bed-chamber, will be one of pleasantness and security in comparison of the condition to which such a government will have brought itself. Its escape hitherto has been miraculous. The working classes have been poking about the match in all directions, and striking out every kind of spark except the spark that hit. That they should have been so utterly weak, imbecile, and demented, as to cocker up their oppressors for the sake of doubly damaging them another time, and that the influence of any leaders should have availed to put them on so gross a foolery, is only an evidence of the certainty that people must have time to learn, and that without knowledge herds of men are as little dangerous, as herds of oxen to those who live upon their beef.

This is all warning; surely some token of gratitude will be presented to the giver by those in danger. One new symptom of increasing peril, rises up at this moment. *Operative* Anti-Corn-Law Associations bear testimony to the progress which knowledge is making in the directions where it will be most effective. They may be likened to the fire making its way along the leader to the mine.

London, 28 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. IX.

OPENING-OUT OF THE PLOT IN ENGLAND.—POSITION OF THE CHARTISTS.—POLICY BEFORE THEM.

SIR,—The plot in England opens out. The well-meaning kind of Radicals are getting up public meetings from an idea of being able to make a movement for further reform; and the Finality Whigs, through the instrumentality of the same men who sold us to them before, are coming down to take possession of the movement, and guide it to their own purpose, which is the keeping of the "No-Further-Reform" party in office.

This fraud will be exposed in the end; but as the Spanish proverb says a falsehood is always worth something if it will only stand for four-and-twenty-hours, so here, much of the effect desired will be produced before the exposure takes place. The Whigs count upon raising a spirit of agitation, which shall either be in their favour or somebody shall believe it to

be; and this they hope will help them to meet parliament, and get over any account for their misdoings. In fact the probability is that nobody will call them to any account at all. Effectual and seriously-intended opposition on any subject where the Tories will join, they got rid of at the general election; and the country has gone on very comfortably since, without hearing anything about what there was no preparation to oppose.

All chance for any effective opposition, rests now with the Chartists. And that depends again, upon whether the Chartists will descend from their altitude of speculation on what it is they would have if they could get it, and condescend to act against an earthly enemy, to whom they have it in their power to do much damage *now*, if they could consent to do the damage first, and settle the use they will make of it afterwards.

Do the Chartists want any stimulus to induce them to act upon the opportunity? It was said of the Italians, when they cut a bad figure before an Austrian army, that a great many more blows of the Austrian cudgel must be given them, before they would fight heartily and with effect. Have the Chartists not had enough? Or do they wait for some more?

If the forte of the Chartists was in public speaking,—if they had seats in parliament, where they could astonish listening senates, and witch the world with the sublime and beautiful in eloquence as the Tories do,—they might trust to these qualities for the advancement of their cause. But if on the contrary they principally talk to one another,—if their opportunities of making impression on the public either through the senate, the pulpit, or the press, are hugely inferior to those enjoyed by their opponents, or at all events too limited for the desired progress of their cause,—then what they want is clearly some mode of operating in which each man can be his own general and his own army, and yet all can go on towards the same end without being touched by laws against correspondence, or threats against delegates. They want this,—the determination to go individually against the Whigs at all elections. If an army had seen a corps of officers go over point-blank to the enemy, what chance would there be of persuading it to pause upon the question whether the officers or the enemy were worst? The natural instinct of all men would be to punish the betrayers. But if in aid of this there was the further knowledge, that the officers had only to see the enemy seize on certain objects of plunder which

they had intended for themselves, and they would incontinently be found acting against the enemy with all the zeal they had displayed for joining him before,—the interest seems clear;—give the enemy the plunder, instead of the defaulters, if you can;—consider this as the first object a man with any clearness of head or military tact about him, would move upon at once. Laugh heartily at the mouthing traitors, who would blow you up with wind about the dreadful nature of the enemy, and the awfulness of giving him the plunder instead of themselves. Tell them you see through their plot, and mean to disappoint it. That because they have sold themselves for a price, is the very reason why you intend to disappoint them of the expected payment. And that you are not prepared to see the enemy's plans executed in full without resistance, for fear of hurting the deserters who intend to share your spoils.

I put the question pointedly to the Chartists, whether to determine, conjointly or individually as the case may be, to act vigorously against the present ministry and all who under the name of "good reformers" engage in their support, —is not the best way they have of making a "hurra" upon their enemies, and inflicting a portion of that retribution which, under Providence, is the only way honest men have for securing themselves in future.

London, 26 *Jan.* 1841.

P.S. At Leeds the Chartists have gained a great move, in forcing the professing Liberals to admit them, half-and-half, into their meetings. Let them follow this up all over the country, and add to it the turning out the ministry by their exertions at elections; and they will be *a power*. But they must be upon their guard; they are as sheep among wolves. The motive for this good humour to the Chartists, is the hope of getting up a show of doing something for reform, which may be turned to keeping the Whigs in office, and prevent the Chartists from taking a way of their own at the elections. While these objects are in view, the Chartists will be kept amused by professions of an intention to make Household Suffrage approach within an imperceptible difference to Universal; and afterwards they will hear no more of it. They must remember that they are engaged with some of the falsest of men. The *elections* therefore are the first point; and their new friends will only treat them all the better.

To the Editor of the Midland Counties Illuminator.

No. V.

PERVERSION OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

SIR,—In saying that grammar schools would probably at some time tell the lion's story, I pointed to a fact which is not without its importance, in illustrating the interest the numerous and industrious classes of society have in the acquirement and dispersion of knowledge of every kind. It may not befall individuals among them ever to arrive at this knowledge in their proper persons † but the extension of it to any of their class, or of those interested in their class, will tend to the same end.

A working man would perhaps not think of looking at the "seats of sound learning and religious education," as they are fond of denominating themselves,—for the places where injury to his class is being brewed and mingled. But so it is. A fierce spirit of what can by no term be so well described as *Toryism*, is spread over the ancient writers; and though there is also much matter of a contrary tendency, it is easy for the instructors of youth to fix attention on the one, and avert it from the other. Ancient Rome is one great picture of the victories of a reckless aristocracy working against the people's happiness, and turning everything to food for its own passions and interests. In Greece, on the other hand, are many examples of evils arising from popular power, in great measure in consequence of the absence of the modern invention of representation; and upon these our pedagogues take care to dwell. But at the same time they take care to overlook the fact, that from the same source, along with some evils, sprang the results which made that period, after all, one of the most brilliant in the world's history.

The remedy for this is, not to put down the knowledge, but to disperse it. A labour of immense utility, at this moment, would be for some capable man to re-write history for the people; giving us the real facts instead of the fictitious, and the benefits of popular power along with the defects, instead of the story of the tyrants with the suppression of the reply.

To some among the working-classes considerations of this kind may appear misplaced and beside the mark. But on

reflection, it will be admitted that, however far a working man may be from ever intending to arrive at the knowledge of the schools, it is not uninteresting to him to be informed that history, which is the experience of mankind, is not opposed to the elevation of his class, or exclusively in favour of his enemies, as these last are wont to hold out.

London, 25 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. XLIV.

CHARTISTS AND CHARTIST POLICY.—TO OBTAIN HELP, OTHERS MUST BE HELPED.—MUST NOT INSIST ON THE WHOLE BEARD AT A PULL.

SIR,—I feel desirous of trying to explain the passages declared in the *Northern Star* of last week to be "incomprehensible;" and it is hardly necessary to add, that it is sufficiently rare with me to meet with approbation however "comparative" from anybody, to ensure the amicable spirit of the effort.

By "abuses" I intended all which large masses of the community oppose under that title, and the Corn Laws in particular. That these last were in view, is pointed out by the allusion to "starving" which follows the first introduction of the word. I can conceive no ambiguity in the phrase that speaks of "other classes removing their abuses." All classes remove their abuses or what they feel to be so, if they can; and what they do not feel to be their abuses but somebody else's, they are very apt to let alone. What the Chartists were prompted to, was not to expect other people to remove the abuses of the Chartists, at all events for love; but to join with other people to remove, in the first place, abuses *common to both*, and in the second place, to make themselves essential to the removal of other people's abuses, as the means of creating an inducement to assisting to remove theirs in turn. The agreement of men to put down thieves, is an every-day instance of this policy. One man says to another, "Hinder the thieves from taking the coat off my back, and I will help to hinder them from taking your purse, even though I should be luckless enough to have no interest in that kind of thing myself." If these parties accomplish their com-

mon end, they may be called "parts of a victorious alliance." But if the purseless man draws off and says "I have no interest in purses," he surely loses the assistance he might claim when the thieves come on him for his coat.

It is not easy to see how it bears upon the question, to say the middle classes have the power to redress their own grievances, and everybody else's too, but have not the will. Nobody is over active in redressing other men's grievances, unless he gets some assistance in return. The proposal was not that a man should help others to redress their grievances which they can do as well without him, but those which they *cannot*. He was not to pull them out of a dry ditch, but out of a wet. If there is no wet ditch in the place, he loses the opportunity of making much by his benevolence. But the position here was, that there was a ditch, and the middle classes were in it.

There is no doubt of there being everywhere, the danger of being cheated. But everybody is not always cheated; careful and intelligent men sometimes avoid it. And even if cheated, the Chartists would be no worse than before. What they are determined to do without the middle classes now, and in some sort in defiance of them, they would only have to do without them afterwards, and with all the gain which would arise from the compunction of the honester portions of them. Supposing the cheat to be ever so boldly attempted, there can be no doubt that a portion of some kind or other would be inclined to stick to the compact; and by all these the Chartists would be the better. It seems impossible to defend the policy of refusing to try, when all that can be said is, if the worst comes to the worst we shall only be where we are at present.

But this is not the sorest side of the matter; there is another that is worse. The Chartists, or portions of them, (if it may be said without interruption of amicable relations) have presented the appearance of doing their utmost to frighten people from giving way to any disposition in their favour. Abuses may sometimes be got rid of, as hairs may be pulled out, a little at a time; but there is not a man in ten thousand who can stomach the idea, of pulling out all superfluous hairs at one jerk. And besides, there are often considerable diversities of opinion, as to what superfluous hairs may be. What one man holds in abhorrence, another considers as a beauty and a treasure. One cherishes a moustache here, and a whisker there; while another nourishes something so like an entire beard, that it is

hard to say what portion of the whole he disavows. Now what the Chartists, or the portion alluded to, say, is "Give us leave to judge of what shall be and what shall not. And then give us power to root up all at one pull. We will be content with nothing but all; it would be waste of time. We should be inconsiderate men if we entered into any agreement for pulling away a little at a time. We intend that your whole beard shall be at our mercy by-and-by; and the long and strong pull of reformation that will come then, is all we will hear of." If a device were looked for, to make society defend its beard with unanimity, it must be this.

And this was the error meant to be illustrated by the case of the negro's requesting to be made Governor. But I am asked what I should think wrong in the negro saying "Let me have a *vote* for the Governor." I should say it was asking for what neither black man nor white, in the places concerned, has got yet, or is likely to get; and that for the negroes to have determined on rejecting all offered improvements of their political situation, on the ground that they preferred waiting till they could appoint the Governor out-and-out, would have admitted of no solution, but the concession of that inferiority of skull, the phrenologists are fond of charging on everybody but themselves.

The policy of attacking the out-works or the inner-works first, is very ordinarily settled in favour of the former; though there *might* be cases when from the particular nature of the instruments, or other causes, the common policy would be reversed. But they are rare instances, and require proof. The question in ordinary cases, is the same as that of demanding the whole beard at a pull.

There is no abandonment of Chartism, in asking it to take the likely way and not the unlikely. If the likeliness is denied, then it becomes a mere question of opinion; but one side has not more claim to call it abandonment than the other.

I am half afraid the declaration relating to my personal position, might have been reversed. "Without us, he might have been somebody, as far as his standing with the world merely was concerned. With us, we are all nobody together, unless we can light on some better way of leading the Lord's host than has hitherto been practised."

The paragraph containing the repetitions of "Could we," I in my turn do not find clear, and suspect there may have been some inaccuracy of the press, in stops or otherwise, which prevents it. What strikes me is, that if the Corn Laws were repealed, the individuals and classes interested in re-

moving as many other abuses as should be proved, would be vastly stronger than they are, the unrepresented included. "Reduced labour fund" I must also pass as "incomprehensible." I am afraid it would have been just as reasonable, for the prisoners in the Turkish frigate to have objected to getting water from the neighbouring ports, through a panic on the effects of a "reduced labour fund."

London, 28 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XIV.

POLICY OF THE CHARTISTS.—CAN YOU STRIKE AT THE ROOT?

SIR,—Your correspondent Mr. T. Winters, does not appear to touch the point where I should be for saying lay the dispute upon the policy of the Chartists. No man will deny, that he who tops off a small twig when he could strike at the root, is a fool or a traitor. But here comes in the weighty question, "*Can* you strike at the root?" If I am answered that it is as easy for the Chartists in their meetings to direct their demands to Universal Suffrage, as to the removal of the Corn Laws,—I grant it; and so if they pleased, they might direct them, as children sometimes do, to the moon. But the question still remains, "Are you likely to get it?" Now there seems no manner of reasonable doubt, that the prohibition of foreign trade is at this moment in existence, *solely and purely* because the Working Classes said they would have it so. Their enemies boast of it, and their friends confess it. The question, therefore, is this; whether the Working Classes would not have been as well able to exert themselves for Universal Suffrage, or anything else they desire, *after* they had strengthened themselves by having more bread to eat, as they are now with all the enfeeblement which arises from the want of it. It really is of no use saying, that *if* the people were armed with political power, they would remove all obnoxious and oppressive laws. *If* Feargus O'Connor were armed with his free tongue, he would make a bold speech against the general of the "300,000 Irish" at Leeds. But for that very reason his enemies will take care he shall not. The only question of any value is,

not whether the thing would be desirable if we could get it, but whether any way, and what likeliest way, can be found towards the getting. If Mr. O'Connor were told "Improve your strength, live well and be hearty on the meat we can procure for you, and by-and-by you will be able to climb over the walls, and then you can do as much at a Meeting as now," —he would surely be *to* blame if he replied, "I despise all things but coming directly; I would not give a pin for being stronger; you only want to hinder me from climbing now, and I can't." There certainly might be much said against a reasoning of this kind.

But at this moment, there seems to have started a new hare. As far as a single eye can judge, there appears as little likelihood of the Reformers who reject the name of Chartists, carrying anything as these last; their Corn Law abolition included. There *was* a time when it might have been carried; but that is not now. When the ministers saw that the WorkingClasses had drawn off and opposed, they put out their declarations that *they always intended* the Reform Bill to secure a preponderance to the Corn Law interest, and that they should *think a minister mad* who proposed to alter it; and by these declarations, now they are made, they must abide. It appears to me therefore, that all parties are in the situation of children crying, one for one pretty star and another for another; and that what we want, is not star-gazing but a crow-bar, that shall break up the existing compact and conjuncture of things, by which all chances of reform of any kind are frost-bound and chained up.

London, 24 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XVII.

Jealousy of the Operatives and their Friends.

Sir,—I must ask a few questions on the letter of W. S. in the pages of your contemporary the *Manchester Times* of January 16. He calls me the "gallantly capricious;" the adverb, pass we as not meant to have meaning; but what is the meaning of the other? Why "capricious"? I have steadily refused to join in the compact for no further Reform;

and perhaps W. S. will explain what there is capricious in that. Why does not he call the man capricious, who refuses to get into contact with the police; or the woman who eschews the parish officer? Capricious, it is to be supposed, means changeable, variable. Was I a knave before, that he should call me capricious for not being one now? Or is it a caprice to have refused a dishonourable action, because W. S. thinks so?

But why does he talk about "degradation"? I never insulted *him*. Or why does he insult any portion of the constituency of Manchester, by applying the same kind of language, however indirectly, to them? I was a man in education, in industry, in acquirements, and in the estimation of society, quite the equal of those with whom W. S. may be supposed inclined to contrast me. But I was suspected, or more properly found guilty, of being a friend of the operative classes, and refusing to job with the Whigs who have now gone over to the Holy Alliance. And for this I was reviled and abused. I had expended a great part of my life, and a considerable portion of my property, in studying and supporting the rights and interests of the commercial and industrious classes. The higher portions of those classes professing liberality in Manchester, repaid me with ingratitude. The wealth of their clan clubbed its funds to libel and attack me. As one long engaged in controversy of various kinds, I had of course met with much that was disagreeable from its insolence, and odious for its falsehood. But all were but petty nuisances, compared with the talented abuse poured out on me from the stock-purse of your sentimental and chivalrous magnates. And for what? Not for opposing ministers or ministerial men; for they are doing the same at this moment with all their might. Not for any fault they had to find with my efforts in defence of their interests. Simply because I was thought the friend of the operative and the poor, I stand the butt of men like W. S., who wisely conceal themselves from the indignation with which I am sure they would be received by the better portion of the community among which they live.

Enough for this anonymous. And now to call once more upon the operatives in Manchester and elsewhere, to be stirring in their own cause. Resistance at the elections to the supporters of the party that is in place, is the secret of their power. At Leeds the Chartists have just obtained a singular success, by forcing the other Liberals to receive them man for man into their deliberations. The example is favour-

able, for raising up the hands that hang down, in other places. The hatred of the wealthy classes to the operatives and all suspected of favouring them, is uncontrollable by anything but necessity The Chartists at Leeds have contrived to discover, or to bring on, that necessity. There will be the greatest danger of their being deceived: but like other people, they must take care of themselves. The plot will be, to hold out professions of reducing Household Suffrage so nearly to Universal, that the difference shall be imperceptible. They will proffer the *most* they can, and do the *least*. But the Chartists at Leeds have gained a step, something like that made by a rising state when it breaks through the shackles of Holy Alliance tyrannies, and forces the admission of its independence. Are there no elements at Manchester, to work upon by emulation of the example?

London, 28 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XV.

MACHINERY.—SEARCH FOR A CASE WHERE MACHINERY HAD ULTIMATELY DIMINISHED THE DEMAND FOR LABOUR.

SIR,—Since the arguments you had the goodness to publish for me, tending to represent the probability of great exaggeration in the estimate of the mischief arising to the working classes from machinery, some communications have reached me from a friend whose experience and judgment claim the highest confidence, of a nature so remarkable, that you will probably consider them not undeserving of a place in the current discussion.

At the same time, the conclusions of my friend are so diametrically opposite to those put forward by the working classes on the present occasion, that though he may demand credit for the most accurate and intimate acquaintance with the question which imagination can desire,—though leave might be given to chuse and fix on the manner of life from youth up which should make a man the best informed and most disinterested witness, and it would be his,—I may still be permitted to suppose there must be some different mode of understanding the particular question in hand, or other explaining cause to account for such marked contrariety. All then which is claimed is, that my friend's conclusions

may go for something, and have a right to take a share in the calculation before us.

He states that in 1825, 1826, and 1827, he carried on a persevering inquiry into the effects of machinery on wages and employment; and the result he came to was, that the introduction of machinery had never, in any instance, reduced the total amount of hand labour employed. It had, in very many cases, changed the hands; *but always increased the number.* Since that time, he declares, he has often asked, in various ways, and of various individuals and bodies of men, for a case in which the introduction of machinery had reduced the total amount of labour by a single pair of hands, but no such case had ever been established.

Three or four years ago, he says, a periodical publication made a representation of the consequences attending the introduction of a paper-making machine near Edinburgh, and exhibited the reduction of hand labour as proved by the discharge of sixty labourers from the old mill. In a reply which he transmitted to that journal, he stated as correctly as he was able, the facts of the invention, progress, and completion of this particular machine. It was the work of twenty years, at a cost of from £20,000 to £30,000; and was at the time the ruin of the inventors, though they were (many years afterwards) relieved to some extent by a grant of money by parliament. The proprietors gave employment to a great many persons for many years before the machine could be perfected and usefully employed. The machine came into use gradually, and the price of paper fell with it, and the consumption of it vastly increased. The number of persons to whom this increase of consumption gave employment *went on increasing, and never ceased to increase.* There were the collectors of the materials for the paper; builders for warehouses and mills; the machine-makers; carriers of all sorts; sailors; shipwrights; riggers; sail-makers; miners, for coals, iron, and copper; printers; booksellers; every one of whom, to the extent of hundreds, if not of thousands, had his employment extended before the sixty hands were discharged from the Scotch mill. And even on the fact that sixty hands were wholly put out of employment there, very great exaggeration is suspected to have existed.

Ten years ago, my friend says, a deputation of compositors came to him to assist them with a petition to parliament against the use of printing-machines. This led to an inquiry in the trade; when it was proved that, by the joint aid of paper-making and printing-machines, the number of com-

positors in employment had been increased to an amount which it never could have reached under the old state of things. It was agreed that no case could be made out to parliament, and no application was made accordingly. My friend does not state what the plea of the compositors was; but it must be surmised to have been, that the cheapness of printing encouraged authors to print a thousand in one edition instead of two, and so the compositors had not to recompose.

But this case is nothing to what came next. A deputation from the pressmen's committee followed, with complaints that press-work was diminished by the use of machinery. And it was proved on examination, that press-work *had increased, and the number of pressmen was greater than it had ever been before.* By pressmen is reasonably to be understood, both those who continued to be employed in the old work, which it would appear must have been increased in consequence of the general increase of business, and those who were employed in similar, if not exactly the same operations, about the new presses. To make this generally understood, it may be useful to note, that under any state of machinery, there is a quantity of work dependent on the rest, which will be always done by press-work in the old style. A parallel case of increase (without standing on the precise amount) is seen in the statement popularly made, that the use of railways will end in increasing the number of horses employed in coaches. That every railway is attended with the employment of a number of new coaches in lateral directions, is an illustration of the principle involved, whether in the end they demand an equal number with the old road or not.

Considerations of this nature, it may be apprehended, are very much kept out of sight by the working classes. If they demand, for instance, that there shall be no railways, in order that there may be no transfer of inn-keeping and horse-keeping from the great arteries to the side branches, society will resist them, and they will only run their heads against a wall. The community will no more endure a rule of this kind, than it would endure to be told it must go back to the condition of the Chinese or Indians, where the way in which every man shall carry on his trade is regulated by unchangeable laws or custom that is equivalent. No enlightened race of men ever did, or ever will, submit to the infliction of an institution of this nature. It is enough if it can hold its ground where it exists already.

But it may be suspected there is a further truth when we

can come at it. And that is, that in the long run, and setting off one man's sufferings against another's advantages, the condition of the working classes in respect of employment and wages, is made neither better nor worse by the use of machinery, *either under the detestable system of preventing the sale of the produce, or without it.* The grand fact, it is reasonable to believe, is that a certain quantity of food is to be divided among a certain number of labourers, who bid for it as the prisoners on board the Turkish frigate did for water. If the quantity is allowed to be confined, then men must bid high against each other, and many hours' labour go for a pint. If on the contrary, the quantity is abundant, the price will fall, and the day's allowance increase. I must plead guilty to a strong persuasion, that in the instance taken, it would have made no difference in the long run, whether the imprisoned population worked for their tyrants with naked fingers or by the intervention of machines, and that not one drop more or less water would have been divided among them in one case than in the other.

If this is true, it points to the importance of the working classes ceasing to waste their strength in the direction where no help lies, and applying it where the possibility of relief exists. It would be interesting to know whether the working classes on board the Turkish frigate had any doubt about the method of relief.

London, 27 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XVI.

INCREASE OF BANKRUPTCIES.—THE CAUSE.

SIRS,—Bankruptcies in England and Wales, according to an article in your paper, are increasing by upwards of one-third a-year, or in the proportion of 1425 to 1083. How is it the commercial classes, so acute to protect themselves from the loss of a sixpence when it presents itself in a particular way, tolerate this wholesale ruin, and quietly live under a government which holds out bankruptcy *in terrorem*, to repress what the landlord legislators call the "unrestrained pruriency of speculation?"

There is probably no nation upon earth, in a situation favourable for commerce, and with the amount of population which makes commerce necessary, which is avowedly

governed upon anti-commercial principles, and sees senates meet and legislators gather together, for the express purpose of framing laws and regulations for the suppression of trade. What would be the evils of foreign conquest, compared with this? If we were a conquered people, at the feet of the maritime and commercial powers of the rest of the world; if Holland was again sweeping the Channel with a broom at the mast-head of her admiral, or a Northern confederacy had succeeded in attacking the English fleet by stealth and destroying it *à la Copenhagen*, or America was burning the House of Commons and destroying Westminster Bridge; under such circumstances it might be credible that the conqueror should enforce an abstinence from the exertions of industry, by depriving it of its reward. But that one portion of a nation should submit to such treatment from another, and the operative part of the community be found rampant in refusing to oppose, is one of those phænomena which must be seen to be believed. The necessity is only the greater, for the more intelligent middle classes to apply themselves to play their parts in the civil war which is instituted against them.

The working classes, among other specimens of ill-judgment, have dilated sometimes on the prosperity of the other commercial orders, by way of establishing a monopoly of the right of complaint. The answer is in the multiplication of bankruptcies. If every instance of this kind is accompanied by suffering, disappointment, and misery, of as high a degree as can be inflicted without bodily lesion, the commercial classes may be allowed to share with the operative in the national distress.

Few things are more inexplicable than the patience with which all classes of society will go on complaining of "bad times, failing trade, great slackness in the grocery line, and deep regret at being unable to report any improvement in four-hole point," and never find out that this is the likeliest result of the efforts of an established government being directed to the propagation of the mischief. If we legislate for destruction, it is hard if it cannot be accomplished. If we have selected our legislators with a careful eye to their having an interest in our harm, and still abide by the same identical set, we have nothing but our own acts to charge with the consequences.

After the knowledge of the evil, comes the inquiry for the remedy. And here it is that the distinction is established, between the practical politician and the talking theorist.

We can all of us tell what we would like; but who can tell us how we are to get it? One thing seems ascertained; which is, that we have not gone the way to get it hitherto. Our efforts have ended, in being told that the minister who would give us what we want, would be mad. Would it not be a fair inference, that it is not from sages of his complexion we must look for redress?

London, 23 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. IV.

POSITION AND DUTY OF REFORMERS.—WE WANT AN OPPOSITION.

SIR,—General opinion seems to be collecting about the point of belief, that the Holy Alliance Whigs are making great efforts to promote public demonstrations in favour of the reform they never mean to make; and that they look to this for one chance among others, of securing an additional quarter to their tenure of office.

It therefore becomes an increased duty upon you, to sift the effects of these intended demonstrations. For this you will be execrated and abused, and afterwards imitated, by men who will not on that account execrate and abuse you less.

The main question then, is this. Have we arrived at the point where the Whigs will give no more reform? Or is there somebody yet so weak, as *honestly* to aver they have not convinced him on that subject? Will he fetch them out of the arms of the Holy Alliance, and invite them to brighten up and come forward with their measures of reform? The very proposal sounds of folly; there are men enough who will try the very base string of humility in hopes of deceiving others, but none that with a grave face will look straight forwards, and say he expects this.

Next then, will not the Tories be worse? No; they will be a great deal more tolerable; their advent is as much to be desired, as to a man in torment would be a lukewarm salamander compared with a red-hot. Under a Tory ministry, we endure all the evil which enemies can invent, *minus* all that can be deducted by the remonstrances and arguments of a powerful and able opposition. In our present circumstances, the doctrine from Dublin and Kilkenny is, that we

are to endure all, *minus* the turn of the scale. The very stupid fallacy relied on in those quarters is, that we are to go on in our suffering as long as it cannot be demonstrated that the Tories would *voluntarily* harm us less, or give us more. This is what the "good reformers," as they call themselves, are at present gathering round. The fraud is in concealing, that with the Tories in office we are sure of an opposition. Everything is sifted upon its merits, and its merits or demerits made the ground for a serious effort to damage the peccant parties. As things stand, there is virtually no constitutional opposition. Wellington in 1830, was obliged to hold his peace when William IV (if popular tradition be correct) pointed out to him the tricolor on the Thames. Palmerston in 1840, had neither rub nor hinderance in putting us in virtual war with the same flag, and tearing up the growth which years of amity had made in settling animosities. Wellington, with as many of the sanguinary and reckless at command as there are now, was afraid to encounter the risks of letting them loose. His successor found no difficulty, because he carried with him the force that ought to have opposed.

Thoroughly betrayed as we are, it is clear to me that the Chartists, if they had so willed, might have carried their cause a long march in advance, and might do it yet. But they must show themselves above the folly which limits its operations to theoretic speculations. If they intend to do anything, they must "work," and "while it is called to-day." A hundred thousand or five hundred thousand people on a moor, are of no use unless they will do something when they go away. The hour now is, when they could make a powerful demonstration of the Chartists being somebody. A Whig ministry ejected, as they could do it, by voting resolutely against their supporters at all elections, would be a monument of power which would not be lost upon successors.

What do the Chartists wait for? Is it for a little more imprisonment, a little longer holding their faces still upon a bench? Or do they look for another levy against them from Ireland? Alas! that good men should waste themselves in noise and talking, when they might each of them handle his pick-axe, and apply it rudely to the fortress of their slavery.

Blackheath, 20 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XVI.

Inactivity of the Dissenters.

Sir,—It is a very difficult thing, to get a victory by halves. If the Dissenters want to be relieved from petty annoyances and insults, bestowed on them at the time when such inflictions are likely to be least agreeable, they must bestir themselves to settle the grand question of religious liberty from top to bottom, and make a clean riddance of the principle of submission to ecclesiastical oppression in any form.

The root of the mischief is in the acknowledgment in any shape or degree, that one man's church has a right to support itself out of another man's pockets. The plea is, that there must be a church. But supposing church is necessary, why not two churches, or a dozen? And why insist on taking the payment from those who make no use? A good deal may be said for the necessity of a revenue; but a revenue is not raised by levying a tax on spirituous liquors from teetotallers. If church and port be equally state necessities, let them be provided by the state for such as want them, but not by a tax upon those who declare they will not taste. But this would be to evade an insult and a cruelty; and therefore the supporters of the rough-riding church will not agree.

The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel: and the points upon which the Dissenters were to be allowed some show of relief, have been fastened on for opportunities of annoyance. Nevertheless the Dissenters ought to put up with a good deal, in consideration of the virtue having departed from the rival Pundit; and though it has not precisely lighted on their own, it has taken the intermediate step of lodging upon what may be considered a neutral head, in the substance of the Registrar's. The Registrar, it is true, may be out of the way; and so may anybody else. But if there is no particular reason for thinking the Registrar withholds himself from innate depravity, the Dissenters must wait for the equalization which will at some time be consequent on establishing, that *all* marriages are civil acts, and any movements of any clergy thereupon, are only what the French call "embroidery in addition." A marriage has really no more necessary connexion with clerical interference of any kind, than a man's

dividing his property by deed of gift among his children. To either occasion, a sermon might perhaps be usefully applied; but there is no utility in making the legality depend upon the sermon.

If Dissenters shake their heads at this, they must live and learn, that there is no getting rid of other men's unreasonableness and keeping up their own. If they want relief, they must join the great rail-road train of general improvement, and not expect, till they are Prince Albert at least, to be handed forward by a special engine to themselves.

London, 28 *Jan.* 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XV.

MEETINGS IN ENGLAND FOR REFORM.—INTENTION OF THE "NO-FURTHER-REFORM" PARTY TO KEEP THEIR PLACES.

SIR,—Everything demonstrates that it is the intention of the Whigs in office, to act on the assumption that the meetings in England professing to be for the furtherance of reform, are favourable to their tenure of place. And there is little doubt that the greater number of the leaders and promoters are privy to a design of this nature. Among those, too, who compose the body of the meeting, there is as little reason to suppose that the greater part have freed themselves from the trammels of the "keep out the Tories" cry. It requires greater habits of comparison than fall to the generality of mankind, to know when dishonest men whom they have trusted, fall below dishonest men whom they dislike. There is only the more reason therefore, why the Chartists, who are the only class of politicians who have much sincerity and singleness of purpose among them, should exert themselves to meet the contingency that has arrived.

The reason why the friends of the Charter should apply themselves to the practical measure of turning out the Whigs, are many. In the first place everybody has talked too much already, and a great many are for talking a great deal more. The necessity therefore is pressing, for superseding talk by action of some species. In the next, when the Whigs have fairly demonstrated that they will do nothing but what the Tories would equally effect, it is time to have recourse to the only measure left, which is that of acting

vigorously against whichever of the two parties happens to be in office. The effect of this is to weaken the power of office altogether; which, where office of all kinds is the public enemy, is a manifest advantage gained. And finally, which is the most energetic reason of the whole, it is probable that the Tories with the Whigs against them, are to be trusted for being vastly better governors, than the Whigs with the Tories in support. In one case we are to have all that a selfish and unprincipled aristocracy can do against us, diminished by the effects of the remonstrances and arguments of a powerful and able opposition, urged on by the jealousy of rivals and the hunger for office. In the other case, which is the actual one, we are without a constitutional opposition altogether, and drop into the sink of arbitrary power, as settled by the combination of two aristocracies, equally selfish and unprincipled, when not impelled by mutual jealousy to bring the people's interest into the contest.

See with what child-like simplicity the effects of this union of Whig and Tory Conservatives are described in your great northern organ of Conservatism.—

'Unanimity, unprecedented indeed on such a crisis, now prevails in Great Britain; but never was a juster observation than that made in that able and uncompromising journal the "Standard," that this unanimity is entirely owing to the noble and patriotic feelings with which the Conservative party is animated; and that a very different and far more painful spectacle would have been presented if they had been in power, and the Whig-Radicals led the ranks of opposition. That the Conservatives would have been as anxious as Lord Palmerston, to avert the destruction of the Turkish empire, either by Russian protection or Franco-Egyptian hostility, can be doubted by no one who is acquainted with their conduct for the last half century; but what would have been the conduct of the Whig-Radical party, if in opposition at such a crisis as the present? Would they not have done as Mr. Fox and the Radicals of 1793 did, at the commencement of the French Revolution? Would they not have joined with the Chartists and Papists in a fierce denunciation of the Cabinet of Great Britain, and re-echoed, on this side of the Channel, the loud and menacing cry of the French Revolutionists? Would not such a division of opinion have given the greatest encouragement to the war party in France,—and would they not have concluded, on reasonable grounds, that the period for avenging all the disasters of France upon Great Britain had now arrived, when discord so inveterate raged in the British Isles? And if the blessing of peace is now preserved, is it not mainly, under Providence, to be ascribed to the dignified and patriotic conduct of the British Conservatives, who forgot their animosities when their country was at stake, and calm but yet resolute, pacific but yet firm, evinced to France and to the

world, that while they valued its friendship, they neither feared its hostility nor forgot what they owed to their own country?'—*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine for November*, 1840.—*p.* 576.

Here is the avowal distinctly made, that had the Tories been in office, the brutalities of the Whigs could not have been committed. We should have escaped the brand of felons stamped on our persons in the Chinese infamy. The ally and friend of Englishmen in Egypt, would have been safe from the attack directed against him in pure and simple animosity to the progress of civilization, and desire to sustain the rule of barbarism and ignorance. These personal disgraces we are coolly told we should have escaped, but for the invention of making the Whig the doer, and the Tory the exulting prompter. For all this, you will see the "good reformers" will rush on; at all times equally abusive, mendacious, and eager to reach the spoils of office. If the Chartists would leave off theory for a time and betake themselves to practice, they are the only men who, by exerting each in his several sphere such influence as may betide him, could tame the insolence of the traitors, who under the title of "good reformers" have stopped up all avenues to reform.

London, 27 *Jan.* 1841.

P.S.—The Chartists have gained a move at Leeds, by forcing the professing Liberals to admit them to their meetings in the proportion of half-and-half. This is what our God-fearing forefathers called "using the means." The Chartists are evidently to be the men, if they will only bestir themselves in the way that other political parties have done before them. But they will add wonderfully to the reverence their new allies will have for them, if they will exert themselves to turn out the Holy Alliance ministry at the elections besides. The object of the good humour of the other professing Liberals at the present moment, is to get up a show of doing something for further reform, which shall help the Whigs over another quarter, and among other things, prevent the Chartists from taking any course of their own at elections. And the bait held out, will be the proposal to reduce Household Suffrage to something scarcely different from Universal; upon which they will say the most possible and do the least. Of this the Chartists may be sure; they had therefore better secure the other point while they are able. If they want encouragement, let them read the debate on the Address.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XVIII.

THE CHARTISTS INVITED TO DISCUSS IN PRINT.—THE OPERATIVES HAVE BEEN THEIR OWN WORST ENEMIES.

SIR,—Would there be any objection to your inviting our Chartist friends who stand out for the Corn Laws, to state their reasons in print, with the understanding that they should occupy only a certain portion in your columns? There are sometimes advantages in conducting a discussion in the manner of a chancery suit. Among others, it does away with the chance of anything being decided by clamour or by favouritism, and transfers the decision virtually to the whole of the reading population.

In some parts of the country, Operative Anti-Corn-Law Associations are making their appearance. And till the question gets into the hands or heads of the clear-minded among the working classes, there will be little hope of its favourable settlement. As it is, the working classes are the slave classes, principally because they have declared they will have it so. If they had not lifted up their voice to demand the continuation of their chains and the prohibition of the sale of their goods, the evil might by this time have been in a state of considerable progress towards removal.

In addition to the damage which has arisen to them from the perpetuation of this particular evil, there is the injury done to all their chances of obtaining political power for the general amendment of their condition. If ingenuity had been racked to discover a way of damaging the character and influence of the working classes, it would have fixed upon the very fact that has happened, of their declaring the first time a great abuse was proposed to be removed, that they would have no concern in it but would take the side of the abuse instead.

By this the operative classes have done more to confirm all the allegations of their enemies, than in any other way those enemies could have pointed out. There is no use in denying or concealing the fact. It is written down under their own hands, that in 1840 the working classes, so far from being able to do anything towards relieving themselves, were the great block and hinderance in the way of anything

being done either for them or for other people. And if the proposal for their relief had been of any other kind, it is equally probable that they would have followed the first counsel given to them by their enemies as the means of hindering it. All that has been written of the weakness and inaptitude of the numerous classes for self-defence, their facility in obeying any enemy who will boldly put himself at their head and invite them to follow, is thrown into the shade by the actual conduct of men in the present day, when there had been hopes they were in so much better a state of preparation for improving their condition.

But there is nothing fatal in all this. If it is so, it only proves the necessity of mending. It certainly has demonstrated that we must begin to rise, from a lower depth than was calculated on. The mischief done, has undeniably been great. Not only have the shackles of the working classes been riveted at their own request, but it is highly probable that this desertion of the working classes to the enemy, has been the key to many of the other wretched events that have followed. The coalition of the Whigs with the Tories, the resurrection of the Holy Alliance, the renewal of the war against the advances of civilization and human improvement at the expense of the slavish population of Great Britain, are all, it is highly probable, consequences of the view taken of the weakness of the party which ought to have opposed. It is no consolation under this evil, that the working classes are expiating their folly in poor-houses and county prisons. The chances of comfort are only in the future.

And to the future we must look. The present has been sacrificed and made over to the enemy, because the people chose it. But if pains be taken to encourage and collect the sparks of better knowledge among the classes concerned, there is no more reason to despair, than because the serfs of old would have risen to prevent the reformation of religion, or in more modern days to suppress the innovation of turnpike-roads and the rectification of the calendar.

London, 4 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. X.

"Flagrant Injustice," not to have five Quarts out of a Gallon.

Sir,—In looking over the "Letters to the Editor" in your paper of the 22nd of January, I cannot but be struck with the weakness, arising out of unreasonableness, of some parts of the first letter, on the reduction of wages. No men in this world can expect justice, till they know what is justice to other people, at all events to the extent of saving themselves from making such mistakes as must inevitably set others against their cause, and so diminish their chances of success.

It never was my chance to see anywhere else that I recollect, a downright assertion that the builder of a factory is bound to pay workmen for their labour, when he is prevented from selling the goods that are to be made, and perhaps those very workmen are crying out they chuse to have it so. Surely your correspondent might as well assert the injustice of declining to keep him altogether, in any way he may fix upon. His argument appears to rest on calling out "flagrant injustice." Why "flagrant injustice"? Does he ever pay the shoemaker for shoes he does not want and cannot wear? And yet the shoemaker would be as glad of this as in the other case, and has the same right to call out "flagrant injustice" because it is not done.

What use is there in the labouring man pleading a right "to such a full, and adequate, and just remuneration for his labour, as will enable him and his family to have a full supply of food and raiment in return for his toil,"—if not only the things are not there to be had, but the labouring men, or part of them, are all the while doing their utmost to say they shall not be there, and they will not have them there? Fancy the 1400 men in the Turkish frigate, to whom the captain sold water, insisting on their right to have "a full supply of water" in return for their toil, and all the while shutting their eyes upon the fact, that the water was not there to be had, and what is worse, adding their voices to the cry, that to have more water on board would do no good, and that it was all the cruelty of the middle men

who would not give them five quarts where there was only to be a gallon. Yet not a bit more of unreason would there be in this, than in the conduct pursued by those of the working classes of whom your correspondent is an example.

Your correspondent intimates complaint, that the labouring men have not "a full supply of food and raiment" for themselves and families. But how are they to get more, if it is not to be there, and if they stand out in saying they will not let it be there? Is there any food that is not eaten? And here let me not be met with a story of a shin of beef that was boiled into soup for the Lord Mayor's feast; but let me be told whether all that is, and is allowed to be, in the country, is not eaten up, barring what may be spoiled in the cooking, and whether it is within the possibility of things to give every man of the numerous, which are the labouring classes, the increase of food he would desire out of the present quantity. And if this is allowed to be impossible, then comes the question of how the present quantity can be increased. And upon this it may be your correspondent will tell me, that it is all the fault of farmers who will not grow corn at a loss, and landlords who will not pay for it out of their own pockets; and that if these two trifling difficulties were got over, there might be corn as the sand of the sea, and every man eat without limit or restraint. And all the time this remarkable theory is put forward, your correspondent perhaps is wondering at the practical absurdity of men, who think that the first step towards eating more is to let it be there, and that the way to let it be there is to permit the buying of it from those that offer it, and not waiting for the time to arrive when farmers and landlords shall give it us for nothing.

But perhaps your correspondent thinks that food and raiment should be obtained for asking, because he sees large quantities of the materials in the warehouses. Did it ever occur to him to think, that every man might have a watch and a fowling-piece, with perhaps a red jacket and epaulettes if he pleased, because he sees so many of those articles collected in the windows of the pawnbrokers? Just what these are in the pawnbrokers' windows, it is to be feared are the accumulations in the warehouses of the merchants,—signs not of riches but of poverty. They are so many things which have been created at great expense, and of which the owners are now waiting to see if anything can be made. To complain of their not being given to those who would like to have them, is as unreasonable as to complain that the pawnbrokers

do not make a similar distribution. The owners are tradesmen, working for their own support; not distributors of alms, which wherever they come from, must have been preceded by having it to spare.

If your correspondent is correct in thinking that it is better for the workmen to be discharged than to work for reduced wages,—why do they consent? It is at their own option, and the evident reason is, they know it is *not better*. There is no end of telling men, that they do not know how to take care of themselves, and that somebody else knows, and will do it if they will let him. The manufacturer says to his workmen, "I can go on if you like to pinch, and if you will not, I cannot. Take your choice." Surely the manufacturer is not to blame, for taking them at their word.

According to your correspondent then, the evils he describes as resulting from overstocking the market, resolve themselves into the wrong decision of the workmen. How long is it to be before the workmen find out, that to prevent the master from selling his goods where he might, is more than either their ingenuity or that of your correspondent can counteract or cure?

London, 3 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. VI.

ARGUMENT FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.—DEMOCRACY FAVOURABLE TO THE GROWTH OF INTELLECT.

SIR,—In addition to the arguments for Universal Suffrage which I submitted in your second Number, there is a very strong one which is constantly overlooked by the monopolizers of political power. And that is, that when each has a vote, then and not till then, has either the rich or poor man the precise quantity of influence which is his due. It would be an odd process, which in a market should begin by forbidding the poor man to enter, as the means of enabling the rich man to have the benefit of his wealth. And equally irrational is the legislation which keeps the poor man out of the market of the suffrage, on the plea that this is necessary to enable the rich man to enjoy his power.

Unless it can be proved that all the rich are conscious of interests opposed to the numerous classes, there must

be some whose strength would be increased by promoting the extension of the suffrage. And herein lies a power which has never been fully developed, but which is likely to grow and to continue to grow. If the subject be well wrought and agitated, there must always be found somebody, sometimes perhaps on one side and sometimes on another, who will be aiding and abetting to the extension desired. In this way the serfs in old time obtained their emancipation and their immunities. Useful sometimes to the king and sometimes to the nobles, which were the great contending powers of those times, they made one and the other alternately feel their interest concerned in adding to their privileges. The modern "slave class," if they have conduct, will work themselves forward by a similar process.

The want of attention to the great and inevitable influence of the possessors of wealth over the other classes, makes the error of those philosophers who argue on the danger of society being all forced into one mould, and that a low one, if the masses of the nation were brought into the possession of political power. The conclusion is as defective on experiment as it is in theory. The influence of the great and elevated has always only been too much, instead of too little. In the republics of ancient Greece, where the democracy was all-powerful, and its operation not softened by acting through the medium of representation,—though the masses of the people were not in their proper persons poets, artists, or philosophers, it was not found that this prevented the growth of intellect and science, or that Greece was doomed to mediocrity for want of an aristocracy to rule. In Rome the aristocracy was master; and the consequence seems to have been, that mental improvement was slower and more sluggish, and came only at last as a sort of foreign luxury, imported from the more genial clime of democratic Greece.

If the question be transferred to our own country, there is little in the examination of the policy and performances of our aristocratic government, which should lead to the conclusion that any other could do worse. One of the uses of the spread of knowledge will be to show, how groundless are anxieties founded on the difficulty of producing equally good intentions, and as happy modes of pursuing them, under a government which should release the numerous classes from the stigma of being "slaves."

London, 4 *Feb.* 1841.

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To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. XLVIII.

NECESSITY OF CHANGE IN THE SUFFRAGE.—THERE WANTS AN ALTERATION FROM THE ROOT.

SIR,—In all examinations into the necessity of an alteration in the basis of legislative power which is the Suffrage, the important point to be brought forward and kept in view, is the total hostility between the interests of the community, and those of the persons who under the present unhappy state of things are thrust forward into the office of directing the operations of the public power.

For instance, is there any general doubt, that the English community at large is deeply and decidedly averse to all the marked measures and their consequences, which are brought forward for approbation in the speech of ministers from the throne? Do the people of England approve of the policy which has imposed on France the necessity of being constantly armed and prepared for war; as evinced by the fact, that under the most perfect abstinence from aggression, and even the most extraordinary submission under irritating circumstances, that power could not escape from threats of invasion and partition? Assuredly they do not; on the contrary the conviction is rapidly spreading among them, that for themselves there is no alternative, but to be dragged out to assail liberty and civilization wherever they display themselves in the world, or make a root-and-branch Reform at the sources of the evil, by changing the site of the foundations of power at home, and thus reconciling Britain with the happiness of the world. The choice is before us, whether we will be bandits the slaves of bandits, and liable as such to bandits' fate whenever the dæmon we serve shall fail us; or whether we will aspire to holding a place among honest and respected powers, by taking the direction of affairs from the unsound portions of the community, and lodging it with the sound.

It is the growing conviction of this, which is at the bottom of the rising spirit which when it displays itself among the operative classes is called Chartism. And among the wealthier classes are abundance of Chartists of the heart, though they do not openly avow their junction with the others. The fatal

symptom for the governing power in any country, is when it has set itself in opposition with the morality and honest feelings of the inhabitants. What can be done, for instance, with a government which avows through its organ in parliament, that in making the most scandalous attack on an unoffending nation which is recorded in history, it regarded it in a religious point of view, and trusted a dawning light would break upon an idolatrous land in conjunction with the opium which was to be forcibly administered. The history of the world does not authorize the expectation that such enormities under the abused name of government can stand. There must and will be an alteration from the root; the foundation of the evil, which is in the location of the seat and origin of power, must be gone to.

At the same time it is undeniable, that we are yet in the day of small things. A popular member, and an honest though not a very bold one, dares not hint dislike, without premising his admiration of the promptness and effect with which the basenesses were committed. Why make this concession to the powers of evil? When a highwayman is brought up for doom, nobody but the historian of "Jack Sheppard" thinks of directing public attention to the able manner in which the crime was committed. Why encourage the greater Jack Sheppards who make war upon us, by descanting on their talents even while we express our desires for a rope? All these things show great weakness, the infancy of a nation's mind. But the truth is, such milk-and-water is essential to preserving the good graces of any constituency as things stand. Every solitary, and what is worse, dishonest interest, has its preserves and warrens to secure it a supply of representation at command; but so curiously is the machine wrought, that the whole of the numerous classes and their friends, shall not have a point from which they can direct, not the manifestation of their strength, but the simple announcement of their opinions.

London, 4 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XV.

POLICY OF THE MINISTERS.—REASON THEY WOULD DO NOTHING FOR FURTHER REFORM.

SIR,—Before there can be any hope of a "do-nothing" policy being abandoned by the ministers, it is necessary to see what becomes of the "do worse than nothing" policy which they have been pursuing. And here I cannot avoid thinking there is a mistake in the tense, which speaks as of a matter in futurity, of the "ministry not going most flagrantly astray," and not "wandering from the paths of Whiggism" or "enacting Toryism outright."

If surreptitiously to have broken up (with withdrawal from the knowledge of parliament) all the bonds which connected Great Britain with the liberal party throughout Europe, by the most flagrant attack upon the advances of civilization and improvement which invention could suggest, and the most flaunting desertion to the principles and society of the Holy Alliance formed for the suppression of advancement everywhere,—if this wants anything to complete a "wandering from the paths of Whiggism," or an "enacting of Toryism outright,"—we shall probably only have to wait till another recess, to witness the perfection of the plan.

Only fancy yourself a continental liberal, who in despite of unfavouring circumstances had begun to look upon Great Britain with somewhat of a friendly eye, as being an actually component part of the alliance for national freedom and general advancement. And see what it is that is presented to his views. In the East an individual of powerful talent and invincible perseverance, has been engaged for thirty years in making a country of that which was no country. No shadow of blame was ever thrown on him for misconduct to any British citizen, or harm to any British interest; on the contrary he had ever been the most active and energetic friend to all. This man it is, whom in defiance of virtual conventions by which honourable men would have felt bound, two British aristocrats, holding by the treachery and weakness of the so-called Reformers in parliament, the power of directing the public force to any Anti-British object they please, determine to attack on the pretence of Holy Alliance principles. To cover their dastardly intent with a show of

union, they take with them one Austrian frigate, commanded by a boy prince, to the ridicule of seamanship and common sense, and so proceed in the "glorious" work of making England the executioner of Holy Alliance objects beneath his eye. And for this treachery to the interest and character of Great Britain, there is no redress in parliament or anywhere else. A few quiet truths are told by Mr. Grote, and a mock opposition, ending in no division, professed on the part of the Whig-Radicals. And there the matter will rest. It is established by precedent, that a minister during the recess may change the relation of the country with the whole world, and substitute dark disgrace for the fair fame under which he received his charge, and there is no help, no hope. The babble of talk shall go on as before, and the community wait with sheepish patience to see what accumulation of dishonour it shall next be told to swallow.

It is plain enough now, why ministers would never do anything in the way of further Reform. Was it likely, that it should be done by men who were gloating over the advances of civilization as what they would speedily have it in their power to suppress; and will anybody father the folly of expecting to see it done by them hereafter? The combination with the Tories is "thick and slab," whether it has been the result of mutual understanding upon equal terms, or only the resource of fear, scudding before the consciousness of having forfeited the confidence of the people, and rushing into Tory arms for the blind chance of such protection as may be found.

London, 4 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XVIII.

ANTI-CORN-LAW CIRCULAR.

SIR,—I am amused by a letter of the Editor of the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular* which appears in your contemporary the *Manchester Times* of the 23rd of January, in which, with reference to the last election for Manchester, credit is taken for *the Circular having preserved a complete silence until after the election was over*, and on the ground of the candidates being *both equally eligible*.

Why then did it break out *after the election was over*, as may be witnessed in the *Circular* of the 17th of September 1839? And did it or did it not, by this proceeding, earn for the Association the character of being, as Mr. Gladstone described it in the House of Commons, a "big borough-mongering" speculation, instead of an honest attempt to advance a public cause?

London, 4 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XVI.

COUNCIL OF THE NOTTINGHAM CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

SIR,—I cannot see that the Council of the Nottingham Charter Association, through their Secretary, have effectually replied to the objections advanced against the letter of the 1st of January on the subject of machinery.

To the assertion that, "if stockings could only have been knit with fingers, it would be a terrible mistake to suppose there would be as many people employed in stocking-making as now," they object that "the faster any article of manufacture can be made, the less hands will be employed in making that article, if a market cannot be found to carry off the surplus caused by inventions or improvements."

Now the pith and substance of the assertion made, was that in the instance cited and others similar, the increased quantity of surplus was itself a cause of a market being made or found. And to this no answer has been offered.

When the Council state their belief that more hands were employed in making stockings before the invention of the stocking-frame, there is reason to fear that they confound employment with advantageous and profitable employment. It may be true that among our predecessors the women and even some of the men found a pretty constant and perpetual occupation in knitting stockings to cover the nakedness of the family. But it does not follow this was a desirable occupation, merely because it occupied them. In some parts of Africa the women, high and low, pass their lives in beating rice in a mortar. But it does not follow that the introduction of mills ought to be followed by the wailings of all the women for the loss of their employment. Employ-

ment seems here to be confounded with gainful or desirable employment. In one sense, the tread-mill is employment; but few people regret exchanging it for any or for none. If there were a state of the arts and of society in which every individual of the working classes, male and female, was obliged to pass an hour in the day upon the tread-mill to grind their daily bread, few people would count the employment an advantage.

I doubt whether the Council quote with accuracy when they present me as saying that "the loss of the stocking-maker will be made up by the cheapening of other articles of manufacture which he may require." On the contrary, in the letter of the 6th of January, after stating that the operatives themselves, in their individual capacities, have an interest in the cheapness of all productions except their own, I find myself adding in a very guarded manner, "It is not said that this interest is equal to their interest in the dearness of their own, or that it is not; but that it is an interest of some magnitude or other, and ought to count for what it is worth."

The weakness of the arguments of the Council I must again state to be, first, that they seize on all the apparent losses to individuals from machinery, and add them together for the sum of the mischief, without taking any notice of the circumstances which operate in counteraction, either in the cases of these particular individuals or of any others; and secondly, that without showing any probability that they shall ever be able to rail down machinery, or in any degree limit its application, they set themselves stiffly against what they themselves declare to be the way of escape at the other end, the extension of the market. If, as once before mentioned, a sentry were placed at the door of a manufactory in Nottingham, with orders to let nothing come out, they would scarcely attempt to deny that this was an effectual way of cutting down the employment of the operatives concerned, whether machinery might have been engaged or not. A sentry *is* put over their manufactories in the shape of a custom-house officer instead of a dragoon, and the Council stand protesting against opening the doors.

That the men who talk to the operatives about Corn-Law repeal are not all of a mind, might be taken for anything rather than an intention "to gull the people." Those have been the successful gullers of the people, who have found the operatives ready to advance open-mouthed with the declaration, that they won't have a market—that they won't—and

nobody shall make them one. One thing only the English operatives pray, that there may be no market for their goods. They are very badly off, but they are sure they should be the worse for a market. They have all kinds of long-headed reasons why nobody shall get them a market for their goods. They say stockings are made in Nottingham for a penny a pair, and the hand-loom weavers are as badly off or worse; and the remedy they propose is to beg that they may not be allowed to have a market, till they get some further power, which they mean to employ against somebody they point at under the term of the "money-mongers," by way of securing public assistance to their plans.

This is all very frightful; and it is strange that men will bear it. My belief is, that they will not bear it; and that the Operative Anti-Corn-Law Associations which are declaring themselves in different parts of the country, are the symptoms of the change.

London, 4 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XVII.

The Leeds Reform Demonstration and the Chartists.

Sirs,—The great point which the friends of the "Charter" have gained at the Leeds Meeting, is that they have introduced themselves to the right of appearing as an element wherever men are gathered together for the purposes of Reform. It is their recognition in the world of politics. They are now an independent power, and not only that, but acknowledged by others to be such. If they have ordinary management, all the future proceedings of the Liberals of any kind, must take a flavour from the Chartism that is to be an ingredient.

For a first appearance, I cannot as a spectator help believing, that your criticism is stronger than would have been encouraged if you had been bodily witnesses. Of course men in the position of the Chartist speakers, would be anxious not to lose credit with their friends by anything which could be construed into unnecessary softness of speech; but on the

other hand, there was nothing which could be interpreted into designed and useless violence. Their speeches throughout, evinced the strength of the new blood which is coming into action. There was no ranting, no drivelling, no talking against time; every man knew what he came to say, and said it accordingly, which is more than is done by half who speak in the House of Commons. No assembly of such magnitude, could be more free from confusion and disorder. It was, however, too large for general purposes; and one consequence was, that the Chartist speakers did not appear to the same advantage, as some of them did the next evening at the smaller meeting in the Music Hall.

It has been stated, and perhaps truly, that the meetings of the "Convention" in the metropolis produced no evidences of talent among the Chartists. And how should they, and by what possibility was talent to be struck out, by men talking to themselves and one another? He that would excel, must put himself into competition with somebody else. The men who feel the power of saying what the world would not willingly let die, must seek the sun and air, and not shut themselves up in a smoking-room by themselves. All the wisdom buried in the catacombs of the Lumber Troop, will never do the good of the one day at Leeds. Chartism has been hatching in privacy long enough; it is time for her chickens to be led abroad, and mingle with the rest of life.

The ground upon which the Chartists have been invited to a parley, is the possibility of bringing Household Suffrage to something not perceptibly different from Universal. And the ground on which the Chartists will split, will be the discovery that there is more said to them than done. For this they must be prepared; for in this world, none get all they want but knaves. But they will nevertheless pick up great strength by the way; which is what wise men will never reject.

The accounts which have gone abroad of disorder in the meeting, are exaggerated and unjust. There never was as much noise as takes place every night at a minor theatre where the manager does not come when called for. A Chartist leader uttered an infelicitous trope in calling upon his men for silence, which will not fail to be taken advantage of. The Chartists must learn to remember, now they are "come out," that they speak not only to friends but to enemies. There was a large vacuum in the half-crown and eighteen-penny seats, where the middle classes *were not*; and one of the stewards or official personages was sent to invite

the holders of the seats outside to fill up, which was afterwards quickened by removing some of the rails. But there never was the slightest disposition to irregularity of any kind; and anybody who had gone to enjoy such a scene as was exhibited on the occasion of Mr. Hunt's speaking at Guild-Hall, would have been sorely disappointed.

London, 30 *Jan*. 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. V.

PROSPECT OF FOUR YEARS' IMPUNITY.—GRADUAL AND FREQUENT RENEWAL OF PARLIAMENTS.

SIR,—Would it be fair to hope that the Whig delusion is at an end; and that when the remaining four years which the constitution has provided as a shelter for fraudulent ministries are over, something will be done towards putting things on another footing? You see how cunningly devised the system is, for securing impunity in power to anybody that can get it. There is to be some risk about getting it; but all agree the stakes are to be worth something to the winner.

It has often struck me, that vastly too little relative importance has been attributed to this one point of the duration of parliaments. And as it is politic to probe the weaknesses of any particular point when the opportunity arises, so in the present conjuncture of things the occasion appears to be presented.

Here is a government which, after rising to office on the shoulders of the people with the watchword of Reform, turned round within a few weeks after it had got a parliament to its mind, and declared for Finality. And which, without even trusting that very parliament, surreptitiously and dishonourably involved the country in virtual war with all that is liberal and improving in Europe and elsewhere; trusting to the fact that, of its seven years, four were yet to run. The soundness of its policy, as might be expected, is confirmed by seeing it supported by the marked accession, or mock resistance, of those whose confidence it had already secured. And so the question rests. Is this, or is it not, a time for estimating the consequences of septennial parliaments?

A subject closely connected with that of the duration,

is that of the gradual and frequent renewal of parliaments. The arguments which will be offered against this, are the best proofs of what is right and what is wrong. The object of the present organization is to get the power of absolute government for seven years, without the control of parliament or anybody else. For the control of a parliament which puts its own existence at stake if it controls, is known to be as good as none. And, as essential to this, the object is also to prevent the intrusion of popular opinion to the greatest possible extent during the interval. Deaths and occasional retirements, it is not within the compass of humanity to prevent; but no avoidable check shall be permitted. Somebody must have the right of doing wrong to the greatest practicable extent. It may be a thing to be squabbled for; but the thing itself, it is agreed on all hands shall exist. It would be depriving a ministry of its fair chances, if after having taken the pains to get into office, it was not allowed the harvest it expected, without being interfered with by the grumblings of unwashed electors. Government was made for ministers, and not for the unwashed.

The period is not arrived when the unwashed can be aroused to exert the political power they have. As was said of the Italians, they must have more of the Austrian cudgel yet. It would be a great proof of the good sense of the numerous classes of society, if, putting off the decision of what they would like if they had it, they would move upon the only point likely to get them anything, which is the substitution of a ministry nominally Tory with a strong opposition, for a ministry virtually Tory and with no opposition at all.

Blackheath, 4 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XVII.

RESISTANCE TO THE CORN LAWS, COMING FROM THE FARMERS.

SIR,—It gives me great pleasure to see such signs of resistance to the Corn Laws, from a part of the community where opinion in that direction tells heavily, the farmers' class. They are not solitary on that score, for they have landlords to keep them company. We have at least one county

member, a baronet whose property, as he said at the Leeds meeting, consists entirely of land, Sir George Strickland. who protests against the prohibition of commerce as hostile to the interests of his order.

What would your Plomesgate Farmer think of a manufacturer who should declare, that if the manufacturers ceased to rob the farmers by a duty on home-grown corn and not on foreign, "they must groan under the harassing effect of such contraction," and declare it must "end in their ruination," and finally reduce them to "a state little better than the serfs of Russia and Poland"? I have a great notion he would be for sending them to groan somewhere else. I have a strong fancy for believing, he would discover that gaols and tread-mills were the places for people who could not endure the "contraction" of being confined to honesty, and whose ruin was the necessary consequence of ceasing to take from others. Your readers will perhaps wait to see what reason can be given, why the agriculturist should plead the "contraction" which would arise from ceasing to rob the manufacturer and the population, and these not have a right to plead the like in turn.

The Plomesgate Farmer appears to found his argument, on the difference between what, in a line of Mr. Canning's "Anti-jacobin," may be expressed by "starving without food, or breeches." He sees in what he thinks the greater urgency of the first, a reason why the producers should "have the obvious superiority over the men who but administer the superfluities or the comforts" conveyed in the last. He thinks they have the "natural ascendancy," and moreover "thinks it wholesome and befitting that they should have political ascendancy also." By which he means that they should have the power of robbing the others; but for which he gives no reason, except the facility with which he thinks the latter may be dispensed with, in comparison of the former.

It is rather strange that the common and municipal law takes no notice of this striking difference. It has established no right of robbery in favour of stripping the person, nor conferred peculiar sanctity on the contents of a man's pockets when they happen to be of the bread kind. If the object indeed had been to direct the proposed vigour of the legislature, to securing the obtaining and enjoyment of that most necessary article food, something might have been conceded on the score of precaution. But unhappily the desired rule is to act altogether the other way. The object is to cut us off from food, not to enable us to get it. We are informed that food is

the most important thing in life; from which the conclusion urged on us, is that we should permit the interested to cut us off from a supply.

I wonder what the "rancorous political feeling" will be, of the landlords against the manufacturers, when the manufacturers shall have had a tax for twenty years on home-grown corn and not on foreign. There is no check to injustice in this world, like letting men bite of the bridle in their turns.

The "supreme importance" of the landed interest, is the supreme importance of having a thief. When men are found praying to be secured in the possession of this last convenience, they may be discovered anxious for the other. For what is it that is proposed to them? That by reason of the great importance of food to all men, they shall have a landed interest to hinder them from getting it. The avowed object of the landed interest, is not to increase the quantity of food, but to diminish it. They say their wealth is indestructible. If they mean that it is not dependent upon robbing other people, let them show it by their practice.

There will always be room for the exercise of the moral virtues, temperance and prudence included, without the landlords increasing the field for exercise, by narrowing the field of food. As well might a pathetic remonstrance be got up, on the ineffectiveness of any number of dinners. The evil intended to be avoided, is as much present at the end of them as ever; and yet foolish men go on providing for to-morrow's dinner and the day after that, as if any number of dinners would permanently remove the want to dine. This is precisely the argument, derived from the certainty that population would increase. That population increases, is the first and surest sign of there being comparative ease and comfort somewhere. If men chuse to take out their happiness in population, as the fact is they always do, what right have the landlords to say it is a whim they will repress?

That intelligent people will make some efforts to accommodate their numbers to the means of support, needs no quotations to prove. But intelligent people will not see in that, a reason why the means of support shall be limited, for the sake of giving them the pleasure of accommodating.

London, 4 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XVI.

ALARM ON MACHINERY.—CO-OPERATION.

SIR,—If I have over-rated the alarm felt by "O." on Machinery, I fear the remedy will not be found in referring to Co-operation as what is to be the counteracting power.

Your correspondent pronounces that "the economical school to which I belong is one of the most irrational and arrogant that ever attempted to direct the political affairs of mankind." Can he tell me then, what the school is? It is more than I can tell myself. Of course I am hardly so unfortunate, as to have nobody that thinks with me on any point; but it would be past my power to point out anything deserving the name of a school, with which I should agree in the whole.

Does not "O." perceive, that all he says on what he sarcastically calls "the science," and his comparisons of it to astrology and dæmonology, resolve themselves into the question of who is right? He thinks the Political Economy, which he thinks I profess, "keeps out of view the natural and fundamental principles of commerce." And he thinks it quite plain, that these natural and fundamental principles reside in Co-operation, and possibly in the theory of the "reduced labour fund." He sees no necessity for any human being to be poor. He sees ample stores everywhere; being misled, as appears to me, by the fact, that he sees a good deal it would be possible to take. Whether it would be three months' supply and whether it would ever be renewed, are points he does not go into; though possibly he sees a way. But these opinions of his own he does not call Political Economy. If anybody likened them to dæmonology, he would probably think himself hardly treated. Does there need any more to show, that there is no use in assertions or giving names on any side, and that the only question is of what can finally be proved?

Poor Mr. M'Culloch is called a babbler, because he says to cultivate our own soil is a loss of millions a-year, when (as I suppose, for there must plainly be something understood,) more food could be got by cultivating our manufactories instead. And this, "O." thinks he confirms with the authority of an infallible bull, by asking, "a loss to whom?" I

can tell him to whom. To the poor and heavy-laden labourer in all kinds, who is made to give fifteen hours' work for a peck of corn instead of ten. To the miserable factory child who has the option of wearing out its youth at the mill in aid of the family gruel, or going to its grave in the other way for want of it; and then is told to huzza for the worthy men, who stop the sale of its father's goods, and comfort it by the assurance that it shall work short hours and have the smaller porringer. These, and others of every degree of industry within the country, are they that lose. Of the agricultural labourers as well as the manufacturing, one watch stands still while the other works the pump; and "O." thinks it is all for want of will, that they do not pump twice as much, by pumping all together. I fear that in this as in many other cases, there is a great deal to be learned, before arriving at the capacity of drawing conclusions which will endure. Alas, Sir, we must live upon the answers of experiment and practice, and not of "Echo" as your correspondent has proposed.

Men must be permitted to starve, if they are not to be permitted to get their living; and where the criminality is, must be settled afterwards. Does your correspondent seriously believe, that there is land in abundance which only wants working, to pay 14*s.* an acre rent and afterwards 57*s.*; and all this because the owners cannot find it out?

I doubt whether there is any evidence, that "constant employment is absolutely incompatible with machinery." I have before me the letter of a friend who has risen through every gradation of industry, and who assures me, that for years together he has endeavoured to find a case where the introduction of machinery had not increased the quantity of hand labour upon the whole, and never could find one. Not, mind me, a case where a shift of employment had been made from one set of men to another; but a case where there had not been an increase of demand for hand labour in the whole of the departments concerned.

I much fear that "O." confounds philanthropy with the power of doing good. Has he read of the famous philanthropic scheme, in which all the poor were to be comfortably supported by making brooms? The thing would have answered, if it had not been discovered, that when they were made, nobody would give what would pay for the dinners of the makers.

We must have more discourse on this Co-operation. According to my notions, men have been co-operating ever

since the flood. I must conclude with thanking "O." for his friendly expressions towards me at the end, and hoping I may come at last to please him in political economy as well as in anything else.

London, 3 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XIX.

Helping the Whigs to do Nothing.

Sir,—Of all people the most amusing, are those who "will allow no dissensions to creep in among them" in doing nothing. There is a salt-water story, of a ship-master who shouted up the narrow skylight which let air into his cabin, to the terror of a loitering urchin upon deck, demanding, "What are you doing there, Jack!" To which Jack, as is the wont on such occasions, meekly answered, "Nothing, Sir." Soon after, being troubled with the paddling of additional feet overhead, the angry skipper repeated his demand in the shape of, "What are you doing there, Tom!" To which Tom, innocent of the previous colloquy, replied, "Helping Jack." Our modern Liberals are manifestly all busy "helping Jack."

It is astonishing how testy the members of this alliance are, if anything like interference is threatened with the unity of their operations. Venturesome people have hazarded telling them long ago, that they were do-nothings, meaning to do nothing. And now the slower intellects are joining in the cry, till at last Jack and his helpers seem likely to be equally at a discount. A petty effort has been made, when it was all too late, to get a stage out of the dying post-horse; but this is not the way journeys are performed in these days. Considering all that opposes, it is well if in the health and strength of a party any good work can be done. But the crew whose pilots bring them to an anchor during all the favouring tide, and make a mock effort to advance when the thing has become impracticable, can only expect to be considered as the willing instruments of the pretended disappointment.

And what is the argument urged on the occasion? Certain men are anxious for a particular object, say Corn-Law repeal;

and they declare that they will vote with nobody that does not promise and vow to go with them upon that subject. To this the objection is, "O, you will spoil the plan for doing nothing. There is such a sweet little plan concocting, if you would only let it alone; and this it is you are going to spoil." Is it reasonable to expect that anybody who is strongly attached to anything, should continue to be swayed by such an appeal? The truth seems to be, that we have got to the end of arguments for the present, and must wait for more facts. As the Turkish diplomatist said, we must wait till the child is born, and we know whether it is a boy or a girl, before there is much use in troubling our heads with consequences.

London, 11 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XI.

TIME TO DO SOMETHING.—SOME MEN TOO TENDER TO HELP THEMSELVES.

SIR,—Let us hope the Kirkaldy election is the beginning of the display of a new spirit among the Scottish Liberals, and that it will be followed up in other places as the opportunity shall arise. Even the rabid *Examiner*, who would have eaten up any man without bread or salt for seeing into the mill-stone an hour before himself, is obliged to creep under the skirts of our jacket, and talk of "Ministerial Liberals and Tories," as if there was something else in the world besides.

We have had enough of no doing, and refusing to do. In the name of common sense, let us make an end of talking to one another for the world's amusement, and see if we cannot do something that may mend our own position. Who cares a pin what we want, or how many of us there are that want it, if we content ourselves with cheering up one another to do nothing? What is wanted is a homely practical way, one that does not require much union or organization, but where every man if he has the individual will, may take his pick-axe and make his own hole without depending on the skill of leaders or the disciplines of the wars. There was a point on which the unrepresented might have gone on, and blown down all resistance; but they were afraid of *revolu-*

tion. They could not stand the image of the consternation that would have ensued in families, from the squire's coach-horses being no longer paid for out of the wages of the factory child, or his opera-girl ceasing to be dressed out of the extra hours of the weaver. They had too fine feelings for political deliverance in one way; can they brook it in another?

It is always wise to count the cost. There is no use in a man's going to battle, and then turning sick because, as the French say, there is no making omelets without breaking of eggs. Could they bear to go through with a plan, which should substitute *their* influence at elections, for the influence so long enjoyed and so highly valued, of those who must be their opponents? The grand pity is that a man cannot both cease to be a slave, and please his masters. The quantity of the milk of human kindness in the composition of the working classes or their leaders, is wonderful. Nothing can be likened to it, but the zeal with which certain devotees in the East endow flea hospitals, and give themselves, or as report says, hire their poorer neighbours, to make pasture nightly for the interesting convalescents. It is a positive fact, that when the government offered a premium to foreign manufacturers to take the bread out of the Englishmen's mouths, the English ones said,—Could anybody be so hard-hearted, as to think of causing the damage to those foreign manufacturers which would result from stopping it? Such people are too good for this world; they had better retire at once for their country's good, and leave their bones a legacy to the mills of the agriculturists. But there is a class of less sublimated virtue, who may think their own rights and happiness worth contesting, in defiance of the regret it may cause to their oppressors. To this hardened race the counsel comes, to try whether something may not be set on foot for their own relief, despite the pain it must cost to those who are to be losers by the process. There are virtues, which though they may or may not have their reward hereafter, are too refined for earth. The mouse does not pass its life in consultation for the well-being of the cat, nor is the comfort of the wolf required of the lambs or their shepherds either. If any men withdraw under this shrinking tenderness of feeling, leave them in some shady bower with all the materials for pleasing melancholy about them. But let us ourselves go on and see, whether rough men in a rough age and with reckless enemies, cannot in a quiet way do something for themselves.

London, 9 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. VII.

Punishment of Death.

Sir,—You introduce the question from a foreign source*,—"Of what use is the punishment of death"? I will tell you what use it is of. It is to enable the higher order of malefactors, who are those that conduct their crimes through the abuse of government, to wreak their vengeance, and promote the safety of their plans, by assassinating in cold blood those who may have resisted their illegal acts. If the Bourbons had got the upper hand in the "Three Days," the distinguished foreigner who asks the question would have been at no loss for an exemplification of the use of the punishment of death. It was solely because by one of the freaks of fortune victory was with the honest side, that the palpable demonstration was escaped.

But the difficulty of gratifying the law-breakers with blood, would be increased if it stood a solitary example of the enormity. It is therefore the interest of the law-breakers in contemplation, to maintain the punishment of death to at least a certain extent, in order that there may not be the horror of solitariness, about the act of taking the life of a virtuous citizen who has fallen in resisting the infraction of the laws. Thus the basest administration with which this country has ever been dishonoured, (and of whose demise I should be most happy if news should arrive before the appearance of the present letter, as current symptoms in the way of elections make not impossible,)—opposed itself to the abolition of the punishment of death for crime, having always in view its infliction for virtue.

Hence the grand motive for preserving the punishment of death, resolves itself into the preservation of the power of judicial murder. The possessors of power, not without some reason, protest against assassination. But I should be glad to know what difference there is between assassination before committing felony, and assassination after. Governments protest against assassination unless preceded by previous felony, and then the doctrine is that assassination is justified.

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* Victor Hugo.

Let the government commit the felonious invasion of established laws first, and then assassination of anybody they please and are able afterwards, is justified by the premises. This is the rule or law for providing for the breach of law, under which it is the misfortune of the present generation to exist.

As intimated before, the tide seems turning against the administration who have been the darkest offenders in history in proportion to their opportunities of light and knowledge. A sensible and a wise "slave class" would seize the occasion for the improvement of their political condition.

London, 11 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. XLIX.

ORGANIZATION FOR SECURING IMPUNITY TO ARBITRARY POWER.

SIR,—In these days of political reflection, it is impossible to prevent the attention from resting on the fearful and wonderful construction of things as they are, for securing impunity to the exertion of arbitrary and illegal power.

We boast, for instance, that there is a popular check upon expenditure. See then how curiously it is contrived, that the expenditure shall come first, and the no-responsibility be secured to the doers afterwards.

It suits an aristocrat, who has inserted himself under false colours into the so-called liberal ranks, to upset the peace of the world and overturn all the foundations for happiness and good understanding which for the last quarter of a century had been gradually gaining ground. He begins by refusing information of his plan to parliament; trusting to the provided impotence of resistance afterwards. He employs the forces of the country against an old friend and ally of the English people; and unhappily with success. In the negotiations or what pass for such that follow, the national veracity is trampled under foot; which of itself would create a demand for inquiry, in a country where the sense of national honour had not dwindled into an admiration for successful violence. At last there is a parliament; and see what the provisions are, for obtaining any hearing against this complication of abuse.

In the first place, the anti-popular portion of the legislature,

which is certain to be marshalled in favour of any escape from popular responsibility, comes forward with its own expression of approbation to the military and naval agents in the disputed transaction. No notice of the fact, that the proceeding altogether is one which is charged as having been traitorously withdrawn from the consideration of the country and of parliament, and on the merits of which their decision (mockery as in truth it may be) is yet to come. No notice even of the fact that these warlike instruments have among them brought a stain upon the character of the country in whose name they acted. That a deep falsehood was practically enacted upon the ally of the English people, Mohammed Ali, is as notorious as the sun at noon-day. Who did it? Who is to be responsible for it? Did the naval officer who went to negotiate a treaty with Mohammed Ali under a threat of immediate hostilities, go knowing that the representation of his being authorized to negotiate was a falsehood put forward to deceive? If he did not, did the higher authority who sent him, send him without an authority, and still order him to negotiate, intending to break the treaty which should be made in consequence? Which of these was it? They have it among them; one or other it must have been, or if not, what else? Till this is settled, the man would be an ass and a fool, who did not kick a British negotiator out of his presence, wherever there was the power of inflicting such discipline upon an intended cheat. We stand up a nation not to be believed upon our words nor through our representatives; the brand of falsehood is on our brow, till somebody will move to take it off. All this, one might have supposed, a House of Lords might have thought of. But the thought seems never to have troubled them. To rush to an expression of approbation, on those who have done mischief in any manner with success, was all that was kept in mind.

In the same manner in the Commons, approbation must come first. If any man had said, "But, Mr. Speaker, there are serious doubts whether this proceeding altogether was not an act of treason, in which the naval and military agents should be but too glad to find themselves sheltered from responsibility by the necessity of obeying orders; and there are further serious doubts whether they have not themselves compromised the veracity of the country, unless they are able to bring this also under the same shelter of obedience to diplomatic directions; would it not be decent, respectable, to wait till something is done towards settling these grave points, before anybody rushes to a vote of approbation for what it may turn out

that nobody can defend?" If such words had been uttered, they would have been met by the assurance that the custom had always been, to approve first and consider afterwards.

When the case has thus been prejudged two or three times over, and assurance made doubly sure that the people's remedy is naught, then is to be at some time brought on the mockery of pretending to determine the primary fact, whether the affair was not a crime from the beginning. Such is the state of the people's chances for justice.

There is a province in India, the Guzerat, where the natives have in some way or other obtained the character among their countrymen, expressed by a jingling proverb in the Indian language which says, "A Guzerattee, kick him first and speak to him after." Query, whether the English public have not earned for themselves something like the same standing in political society.

London, 11 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XVI.

No real Opposition in the House of Commons.

Sir,—You express your regret that an amendment on the Address was not pressed to a division. You must perceive that the reason of it is, that there is no real opposition. There may be what the French call *velléités*, simple wishes that things were otherwise, reducing themselves to no act. But there is no dogged intention to turn out and oppose, and nobody to have or to hold any such. There is nobody that would not be frightened to death at the idea of the design, and expect heaven and earth to come together upon the perpetrators.

As you say, there is no *nucleus* of independence; nothing for popular feeling to gather round or fix upon. But on the other hand, you must observe, that to remain in the House of Commons, a member is almost under the necessity to sneak. Let him speak out, and not only have a mind but declare it, and the next thing will be a notice from his constituents to quit. A man must represent the medium, humdrum liberalism of the majority, as in America he must not be an inch in advance

of the opinions of "our enlightened citizens," or if he is, "our enlightened citizens" will combine to turn him out.

In one sense the Reform Bill has done a mischief, or what is so to a certain extent till the means of repairing it can be found. It has annihilated the chances of any reforming leader's occupying a position in advance. No man dares go beyond the liberalism or the knowledge of the masses, for if he does, the masses will make away with him. Wiclif or Luther must have waited till the world turned Protestant, before they could have helped to make it so. Their own constituencies would have burnt them as heretics, if they had attempted to make a seat in parliament the instrument of going a step beyond the fashionable faith.

To those who know how wide is the difference between having a voice and having none, this will be matter of regret. But there appears no remedy, unless vigour could be poured into the more lively politicians in the constituencies, to induce them to display their power at elections, with the final effect of bringing in some representatives of their own. As it is, no man in the House of Commons dares utter more than a mock and emasculated liberalism; and none who are in the habit of doing more, will get there.

At the same time, for everything hostile to popular interests, there shall be shelter enough and to spare. The seats of ecclesiastical and legal bigotry, shall be provided with their special mouth-pieces, in order that they may never want a man in Israel to plead their cause; and the sweeping monopolies which press upon the public, shall have the most special and earnest provision made for their maintenance in every regulation that touches upon the subject. The people, the people only, shall be everywhere not only the helpless, but the guarded against.

There is no help for it all, but the energetic use of what we have. We must not be content, like the Chartists, with saying we want a thing, and so wishing we may get it. What we seriously want, we must seriously take measures to obtain. No making ourselves eleemosynary on the public charity, and hoping to gain our wishes, like the frozen-out gardeners, by the length and strength of our moans, and the monotonous continuity of our song. We must seek for the place where we can make our influence felt, and let it be felt accordingly. Fatal symptoms demonstrate from day to day, that the hours of those who abused the public confidence and threw away their opportunities of good, are numbered. Instead of wailing over what nobody would hinder and everybody foresaw,

the business of a sensible minority is to use the power they have, in order to force from their contending and divided enemies the power they want.

London, 11 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XIX.

Rapid Reduction of the Ministerial Majority.

Sir,—The loss of two elections in one day, must have considerably reduced the majority on which the existing administration is dependent. Of course the anger of its supporters, against all who refused to be partners in its race of treachery and crime, increases with the urgency. The time cannot now be far off, when the Whig administration will exist only as a warning and a lesson.

And why was an honest man to join in such a manifest fraud and sacrifice of the public cause? And how can those who did join, have been honest, except upon the supposition of almost a super-human degree of incapacity? At the eleventh hour an attempt seems to be making, to get up something like a flash of public feeling, by a new Irish Registration Bill. But this is an effort to keep the ship off shore, after allowing it to drift. At another period of the storm, the attempt might have had some use. But at this moment, how is the thing to act? Supposing the bill carried in the Commons, does not everybody know it is only to be directly quashed in the Lords? There might have been a time, when a popular measure, as was the case with the Reform Bill, would have had a chance of forcing its way through the Lords. But the man would be an idiot, who expected this to happen, through terror of the present ministerial majority of *four*. In the mean time the period may be betted on, when this potent working majority must sink into a minority. What then is to prevent Lord Stanley's bill from being carried, with the certainty of being instantly made the law by the co-operation of the Lords? To such a pass have the "patters on the back" reduced the cause that was confided to them.

Whether the people will take advantage of this position of

things to be stirring in their own cause, is what time only can show; but the effort has not been omitted, to demonstrate the opportunity.

London, 11 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XVII.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.—THE WEST-INDIANS DARED NOT DO AS MUCH.

SIR,—From your extracts on the subject of Lord John Russell's motion for extending the Poor Law Commission to a period of ten years, it would appear that neither the attack nor defence has touched upon the principal point at issue in the question. And this is only accordant with the whole routine of parliamentary practice; which may be defined as being a system for legislating against a nation's interests, through the greatest possible exertions in keeping those interests out of sight.

The point on which the whole question turned and continues to turn, was the injustice and consequent danger of cutting down the provision for the poor, and at the same time leaving the restrictions upon industry which made the poor. The aristocratic orders, in the abuse of the power which the accumulated submission of ages had given them, had confiscated the industry of the working classes, and applied it to their own use. They had seized the estate of the industrious, which is the enjoyment of what he can make by his labour, and declared it non-existent except to the extent of what it should be their interest to give him in return. But on the other hand there was a profession and a pretence, that in exchange for this confiscation of his industry, he had, among other things, got a claim for support in the event of want, which gave him a security even industry could not infallibly provide. It was in the main a fraud and a trick, like that which shackles every man in his religious freedom, and then claims to be "the poor man's church" because in some dirty corner it sets apart free seats for the poor. It was a fraud in respect of any equality there might be pretended to be between the mischief and the service; but the fraud was not to be made less by taking away any such service as there was.

But though the compensation to the wronged was ridiculously non-existent, it was not all the same to the doer of the wrong. The prohibition of the poor man's industry during life, was miserably repaid by the promise of an almshouse at the end of it, though of the snuggest; but to escape from the repayment altogether, or cut it down to any practicable extent, made to the rich, who were the payers, the difference between drinking Burgundy and Port. The temptation therefore was strong, to preserve the mischief and cut down the support. The case was very analogous to that of Negro Slavery. One plea for its continuance in the Colonies always was, the pleasing exhibition of gratitude displayed by the planters in sumptuous treatment of their old and worn-out slaves; and frightful threats were held out of the consequences, if all these humanities should be put an end to by a state of freedom. The plantains, the yams, and the daily red herring, were descanted on as what nothing else could secure to negro declining years, and what freedom must inevitably destroy.

One thing never occurred to the colonial aristocrats. They never though of preserving the slavery and cutting off the red herrings. Not so the territorial aristocrats at home. With a courage which only English habits could supply, they ventured on the dangers of the question, whether the ignorance of the English populace was not so much deeper than of the negroes, their habits of submission so much more confirmed, and their chances of any consideration of their case in the process of concocting laws so far inferior, as to make it safe to cut off the supplies of their slaves and retain the slavery. And their calculation was triumphantly borne out by the success. Men of all classes in the legislature, crowded round the process which was to save their own purses, and give them an additional glass of claret out of the poor. No man was found to make an earnest resistance, because care was taken then as now, that no such men should be there. The staunchest and most effective supporters of the new fraud continued to claim as much as ever the title of popular members, and because they did not absolutely propose that refractory or too hungry paupers should be "whipt to death and hidden in the coal-hole," took the credit of maintaining what was good in the bill without the abuse. So strong an instance can scarcely be found in history, of the ease with which the masses of a nation may be robbed, and the grave faces and easy consciences with which even the professed supporters of popular rights will join when the interest is their own.

But another strong source of confidence throughout, was the knowledge that the people were hoodwinked to the chief injustice of the act, which lay in leaving the restraint on industry behind. The movers knew that the people were everywhere ready to cry out for the continuance of the prohibition of the sale of their goods, being moved thereto by a prudent apprehension of the fall of wages which would ensue upon the opening of a market. They knew, therefore, that on this ground they had no danger to look forward to. And there the thing rests, and will do. An ignorant working class bawl for the closing of the manufactories as the means of maintaining wages; and their oppressors not only gratify them on that point, but add the cutting short the maintenance of the poor, as what may well be put up with after so much good luck in the other quarter.

London, 10 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. VI.

RENT.—FOUNDATIONS OF THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN LAND.—AGRARIAN LAW, WHAT IT REALLY WAS.

SIR,—An extract in your paper of the 21st of January, induces me to enter on an examination of the origin and foundations of the right to property in land, and particularly to Rent.

All property is founded on the expediency (which afterwards takes the name of right) of securing the reward of labour to him who has exerted it. The savage hunter who tracks a deer for a day and finally secures it, calls it his; and his fellows respect the claim, as what is equally desirable to all in turn. On the same principle the man who has made cloth, expects to wear it himself, or dispose of it by barter to those that will. And he who instead of weaving, has cleared a piece of land and planted it, expects to enjoy the fruits not only now but for all time; and other men allow it, from their consciousness that in their own case, to clear the land and afterwards have it taken from them, would be equivalent to an order to clear no land at all. It was not one crop, but the succession of crops, which was in the eye of the clearer; just as the purchaser of a gun looked forward, not to a single

shot, but to all the shots the piece was capable of. These are the principles of ownership; and are known to uncivilized and civilized society alike.

After this, came the rights of testamentary disposition, and of hiring out an object in possession. The rudest people do not object to the hunter's giving away his gun or his patch of cleared land, either the day before his death, or by a document to take effect the day after. Nor do they object to his letting out either of these objects for hire by voluntary consent. If a wild huntsman has two guns, and lets out one to a brother hunter who has none, on condition of a per-centage on the venison produced; or if he does the like with the whole or half of his patch of cleared ground, because he has reasons for not working it himself; the rudest society does not rise up in arms against the contract.

So far then there are grounds for property in land. But in process of time a new question arose. As any extensive neighbourhood became fully and permanently occupied, it was discovered that some lands, the best situated and most fruitful, began to produce returns by no means proportioned to the cost laid out upon them, but *vastly greater;* and as this went on, there were countries where all or nearly all the land was in this condition. The owners therefore began systematically to farm out their lands, to somebody who would consent to take a compensation for his work and outlay, and pay the difference as *Rent.*

It is clear on this, that Rent is *not* the reward of labour in the sense in which the terms have been used before. It arises from a species of monopoly, a natural and a harmless one it may be, but still a monopoly in the sense in which the word is applied to cases where the increase of price proceeds from the limited quantity of the produce. It is because men are obliged to compete with one another for what there is, that they consent to give more than it cost anybody to produce. All therefore that is given in the shape of Rent, is taken out of the pockets of somebody else in the shape of increased price. If in any sense it is the reward of labour, it is such labour as would be exerted by a man who pumped his water from his neighbours' reservoirs. It is surmised there is a sterling difference between such pumping, and what the public would consider as the meritorious labour they were bound particularly to encourage. The question then would arise, of how far protection should be extended to this kind of process at all? And what a just

and wise community would arrive at, would probably be something of this kind. It would admit, that within limits, there might be something in the plea that the rent was among the things the clearer of the land intended to secure; and therefore it would secure him the rent, to the extent at all events of not allowing any other individual to take it from him. But it would strongly maintain the policy, of allowing no tax or contribution for public purposes to fall on the productions of industry, while it was possible for it to fall upon rent which is not industry. A tax on industry, diminishes the total result of industry in the community; as for instance to demand every tenth yard of cloth made by weavers, would diminish the whole cloth that could be made with a profit, in addition to what should be taken by the tax. But to demand ten per cent on rents, makes no such additional diminution. What was clubbed for the rent-master by the rest of the community, is clubbed for public purposes instead.

This then is the sore point for the landlords,—that rent is not the produce of *their* industry, but of *other people's*. And by way of remedying the weakness of their position, they insist on creating artificial famine, in order to increase the quantity of other men's industry which shall be forced into their possession. The trade of the highwayman is an honest and a prudent trade in the comparison.

The extract in your paper gives into the blunder of the squirearchal blockheads, who believe the Agrarian Law was an attempt to limit property in land, or to divide it. The Agrarian Law was this. In the early ages of the Romans,—the most determined brigands that have appeared upon the earth,—the great object of plunder was their neighbours' *lands;* and the armies served without pay, the division of the conquered lands being to serve for both pay and prize-money. But it was soon discovered, that the aristocracy took all, while a private citizen did not get "enough for a roof to cover him, or a grave to bury him in." Hence a perpetual demand on the part of the people, for the shares of which they had been defrauded; and the law that was to arrange this, was called an Agrarian Law. Whenever the people got power, they called for an Agrarian Law; and the aristocracy as constantly went to war to distract their attention, as the Whig ministry attacked the ally of the English people in Egypt, to fix the attention of knaves and fools upon their "glorious successes." Hence the Agrarian Law was a squabble about prize-money, not an attempt to divide property as Tory

pedagogues teach the stupid squires to believe. And no man making pretension to liberal opinions, should give into the fraud.

London, 8 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XVIII.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.—FOLLY OF WISHING TO PAY IT OFF.—NOT RECOVERABLE BY REFUSING TO PAY THE INTEREST.

SIRS,—I am led by the mention of the subject in a portion of one of your late numbers, to put together some thoughts on the question of a National Debt.

This was a great bugbear among our forefathers, though unhappily in the wrong way and not in the right. It was not that they lived in a salutary horror of contracting one: or even in a good and efficient penitence for the deed when it was done and past recovery. But they went about with something like the brand of an ill conscience upon their souls, a sense of national guiltiness or at all events culpable remissness, that something was not done "to pay off the National Debt." They viewed the mode of doing this, as a splendid discovery which was to dawn upon them some fine morning, along with those of the perpetual motion and the squaring of the circle. And they as little suspected in one case as in the others, that they were running their heads against the ignorance of facts or of meanings.

Any man may "pay off the national debt," if he will only do what he says. But the meaning of our forefathers, was always to do something else. They invariably intended the returning the principal borrowed, but that nobody should pay it. Some few, perhaps, who approximated more to rationality, looked forward to the appropriation to this object of some extraordinary source of profit, analogous to alchemy. But even these, did not consider, that the alchemy might have been for the good of somebody else, who must be persuaded to lose or go without it. All of them had virtually the idea of a payment, which nobody was to pay.

Their posterity has got rid, to a great extent, of the expectation of paying off the debt by præternatural means, or by anything but the ordinary process of giving *quid pro quo*. But why does it cherish the desire to pay it off at all; here

are manifestly lurking remains of the superstitious expectation of making the omelet without breaking of eggs. Why pay off the debt? Because we should be a great deal better when it was done,—will be the universal answer. But why better, if you are to give for it the exact value of what the thing is worth in the market? There is evidently some of the old confusion, between having the thing done for us for nothing, and having it done by our giving the value of the uttermost farthing in return.

The truth is, there is always the same mistiness. Every man who sets his heart upon paying the national debt, in reality sets his heart upon the blessings that would arise if somebody else would pay it for us, or in other words would give us back what we have foolishly thrown away; and this he confounds with the results of paying full value himself. Every man as it is now, is subject to an annual payment. He may buy up the payment, if he likes to pay up twenty years' demands in one, or submit to some similar process which should make him deliver exactly what the higgling of the market pronounces to be the equivalent. But why should he be in a hurry to give the equivalent? If it was offered at half or three-quarters' value, the thing would be comprehensible; but the very process proposed is, that he shall go, or agents for him, and buy it up at what it is worth in the market.

If it is urged, that he may have the same interest in it, which a reformed spendthrift might have in buying up a mortgage, then the answer is, that he would be buying up a mortgage with the certainty that the first effect would be to have it laid on again. We have an aristocracy against whom we have no control of the purse, except the difficulty and grumbling with which the interest of the existing debt is paid. To make any effort to pay off the debt, would be equivalent to doubling it. It would amount to an instant invitation to the aristocracy to lay on the amount of the debt again. And so instead of paying the interest of the old debt as we do now, we should pay interest to the same amount for a new one, and have "forked out" the principal to pay off the old one besides. Either the interest therefore or the principal, would be clear loss.

A national debt undeniably is an infliction and an irreparable one; but its preservation after it has been inflicted, is our bulwark and defence against a repetition of the evil. It is like the case of the wounded man, whose bleeding is stopped by the congelation of his own blood; the

last thing he would ask for, is to be set to bleed afresh. Whether we pay the interest yearly or buy it up at its market value in one payment, is as far as that transaction only is concerned, identical. But there is a consequence behind one of these identicals; which is, that we shall have a new debt forced upon us by those who forced the old.

It is scarcely necessary to descant upon that further branch of the fallacy which has descended to us, which consists in believing that we should recover the debt by refusing to pay the interest. A government wants to rob us of twenty millions to spend in fireworks; but afraid of startling us, it puts it in the form of a million a-year, which our sagacious organs receive without alarm, and goes and barters this in the market for the twenty millions of gunpowder at once, and then sends it into the air at one flash, and comes to parliament to ask how grand! But it is as plain as ever to one who thinks, which is what few do, that the twenty millions are irrecovefably flashed away, and all the shuffling in the world cannot bring them back. It might be possible to shift the damage to the shoulders of those who had sold the gunpowder for an annuity; but this would not make the loss less, it would only shift it. If every man was a holder of the debt in exactly the same proportion as he is a payer of the taxes towards the interest, it would be plain to every man that to stop the interest or not to stop it, could not produce a farthing difference. And the same must be true on the whole, when the debt is divided in any other proportion.

I know not precisely how far you or your readers may agree with me. But you will probably agree that on this subject, as on every other, all approximations to just views are important, as leading to the pursuit of tracks where something useful may be done, and the abandonment of the contrary kind.

London, 5 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. VI.

THE POLITICAL PROGRESS OF THE MASSES.

SIR,—You cannot have failed to notice the appearances of an increasing activity among the people called Chartists, at once effecting and indicating the junction of numerous new adherents to their ranks. Very few of these will ever settle down again into political apathy, whatever be the course they finally take. They may have any imaginable quantity of

wandering before them, before they finally arrive at any land of rest and promise; but the torrent of men, unless cut short by violent and improbable means, will make its final establishment on some disputed territory, as circumstances and levels may direct.

The phænomenon is interesting, both by itself and in conjunction with what is going on in the rest of Europe. It has been the pleasure of the Whigs,—or more properly, perhaps, of two or three Whigs, who had risen to the bad eminence of doing mischief uncontrolled which in this country is possessed by any who can persuade the parliament to raise them to the station of ministers,—to reinstate the Holy Alliance in its activity against the principles of political advancement. The struggle will not be yet, but it will be; in which the British people must either be victorious through the discomfiture of their governors, or be reduced to slaves by their success. All the elements of popular freedom in continental Europe are in motion, like one great tide, upon the warning which has been given them; and the aristocratic government of this country, the standard-bearer of shabby iniquity and political tyranny in all quarters of the world, is pointed out to them by that fact as the centre of the hostility. Under these circumstances, it is a highly important phænomenon, that the masses in this country should be simultaneously awaking to an ardour for political knowledge. The immediate inference is, that the movement of the governors will fail; that one administration after another will shrink from the responsibility of carrying forward the crime contemplated and begun. The treachery to the cause of peace and political advancement was commenced upon the speculation of withdrawing the attention of the people from the improvement of their political condition. The Whigs remembered in their school days to have read, *bello civiles discordiæ intermissæ;* and the dandiprats of St. Stephen's wrapped their cloaks round them with an imposing air, and took themselves for patricians of old Rome. If the English and Scotch people persist in their course, they will disappoint these antiquarians. From the Irish no help need be expected; for like all people bowed under the effects of long oppression, they will sell themselves to their masters for what their masters may chuse to give their particular selves in return. If anybody thinks this judgment harsh, let him see if the terms of the sale and purchase are not already abroad in the manifestoes of their leaders. If there is war with France—what then? Will Ireland oppose it on the ground of its injustice? No; Ireland will rejoice in the necessity there

will be for giving Ireland a sop in order to obtain her assistance to the unjust war. Ireland, or Ireland's leaders, have got no further than the *sop* system; which is the most dangerous of all for friends and allies. Ireland, in fact, has no allies, nor can have under her present leaders.

The numerous classes in England and Scotland then, in all probability, will go on improving themselves in political knowledge; not with a view to what they can get by selling themselves to the enemies of liberty throughout the world, but with a view to controlling and disarming those enemies,—if silently and noiselessly, as the pointed rod does to the electric cloud, so much the better for all.

London, 12 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XVIII.

No saying " I'm but a lodger."

Sir,—It is always pleasant to hear of one's own improvement, whether it came in sleeping or in waking hours. It is certain there was great matter for congratulation at Leeds on the memorable 21st of January; and it consisted in the evidence that the Chartists were going to pursue human ends by human means, and were finding out that nobody can do what he wants by himself, but must always consent to have assistance from his neighbours, and give it in return.

What I have been trying to impress on all parties, is that they can none of them get anything by themselves, and that they must severally come down from their high horses, and consent to join in doing all and everything which by the grace of heaven it shall be found practicable to do in the way of the general cause. But here I am afraid your friend of the iron sides (if, as I surmise, his name is chosen to express the inward qualities he desires to display*) will be almost as far from agreeing with me as ever. There is no encouragement in it to individuals to stand out for their own particular want and nothing else; no invitation to any such line of conduct as calling out " I'm but a lodger" when the question is of setting to rights the house that is over our heads. It is very likely that a great deal might be done for the general cause, and

* The signature of the letter was " Jacob Ironsides;" which was honestly taken for a *nom de guerre*.

yet not go exactly to the point which would reach lodgers of the precise description of the individual Jacob. It is all very well for him to get it if he can; but if he cannot, the question is, first, whether it would be wise for himself to draw off and say he will be assistant to nothing that does not reach his own lodging, and secondly, whether it would be wise for other people to take the same course.

When Jacob says "A Universal Suffrage man, and no surrender," I am afraid he thinks he has got something to surrender. This is the very place where doubts may be suggested. Before anything can be surrendered, it must be had; and the fear is, that our exclaimer has neither got anything, nor is like to have. The whole question in fact is one of means.

If on this last point I am further pressed by your correspondent for information, nothing better can perhaps be done, than referring him to the Letter preceding that which appears to be alluded to in his communication to you.

London, 11 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XVII.

THE WAY FOR THE CHARTISTS TO MAKE THEMSELVES OF IMPORTANCE.

SIR,—You invite discussion on the ways the Chartists should take of making themselves of importance at the elections. I doubt much whether they are screwed up to the point where anything effectual will be done; they have still a large mass of carnal fears and old-world prejudices which must first be done away.

The only way to reason on the question, seems to be to invite men to declare what they think and what not, and so separate themselves into classes. For example, let us suppose the question put, of "Do you expect any good from the continuance of the Whigs in office?" To this it shall be taken for granted that the Chartists, with exceptions not worth setting down, will answer No.

To a hundred men who have made this answer, put the further question, "Do you expect any greater harm from the Tories?" Are not the Whigs the Tories, but without the check; and would not the danger be less, from the Tory Conservatives with the Whig ones to check them, than from the Whig Conservatives with the Tory ones to back them? To take a case at hazard, is there not more danger from the

Whig connexion with the Holy Alliance for the repression of political advancement throughout the world, backed as it is by the Tories with all their might, than there would be from the Tory leanings in the same direction, opposed by the jealousy and enmity of the Whigs? The one has effected the coalition to stop the progress of improvement in the East, and lay it at the feet of the barbarian boy Sultan; the other could not stir against the liberties of France in 1830. Or to take another,—suppose, as within the range of possibility, the country was endangered by the accession of a foreign tyrant to the throne. Would not the Whigs in office try to outbid the Tories for his keeping them in office; and would not the Tories in office and opposed by the Whigs, be in all probability as unable to make a practical tyrant of their idol, as they were in the case of William the Fourth, whose previous leanings had certainly never been understood to be towards freedom of any kind?

If out of the hundred, seventy answered that it was impossible to expect more harm but less, then set these seventy by themselves and ask them whether it would not be a worthy act, and one that would redound to the credit and advantage of their just cause that they should proceed to make the Chartists somebody, by exerting themselves at coming elections to keep out the Whigs and put in their rivals. But you would be wrong if you supposed the seventy would agree. Timid self-seeking would discover, that something was going to be done, and where there was anything to be done there was danger. It would be much if of the seventy, fifty held to the conclusion, that because they had avowed the thing would be well done, therefore it would be well that they should do it. Their numbers would be cut down like those of the men that lapped of the water; but I do not see why the fifty should not set about delivering Israel.

If they do not go about it, the thing will be done without them, and so they lose their share. The loss of two elections in a day, shows how it fares with the Whigs. It simply remains to be seen, whether at this eleventh hour the Chartists dare stir for the purpose of being in at the death or not.

To produce any effect, the Chartists must do what somebody else shall feel and care about. They may parade themselves to the utmost, and display their wants and wishes; but *who cares?* They may hold up their hands at every election in the kingdom, and display in the clearest of day-light that if they had votes they would be a majority; but *who cares?* There is some resemblance to the feat of the ostrich; who,

when it is worn out by successive pursuers, is understood to run its head into a nook, concluding that when it does not see it is not seen. The connexion between what is done, and the likelihood that anybody will be influenced by it, is much the same. Surely our friends, or the pick of them, might be put upon a policy that would have some more result.

London, 10 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Boltm Free Press.

No. XX.

Wages not dependent on the Benevolence of the Masters.—Increase of Food the only Remedy.

Sir,—I am fond of seizing any opportunity to impress, that the state and condition of the working classes in respect of wages, is a matter not dependent on any man's benevolence or the contrary, but on facts. When a ship makes two feet of water per hour, there is the least possible connexion with the captain's being moral and humane, or the mate's being sober and honest, except that these qualities or the want of them may have influenced the creation of the causes, or the chances of their removal. The serious and all-important fact, is that there is a relation between the planks which lets in the water at the rate described; and all the ethics in the world, unless they go directly to alter the state of things which effects the mischief, will be utterly thrown away.

It may have the air of approaching to the ridiculous, but observation will establish that there *are* worthy people, who go about hoping that masters will by and by discover the impropriety of wages being so very low, and that the evil will by some effort of virtue be cured, without being at the pains of going to the origin of the leak. In which it will be nothing wonderful if they are finally disappointed, as the ship's company would be who trusted to the virtues of their commanders, exerted in any other directions than a strenuous endeavour to find the leak and stop it.

Wages measured in food are low, because it is settled by law that there shall be very little food to be divided among the working classes. If a convulsion could suddenly equalize the incomes of every human being in the country, it might bring all to an equality of want, but it is impossible to prove

that it would remove the want. I have a suspicion a mistake upon this point, is at the bottom of the small success of the Co-operatives. They have a notion, as I judge from some light gained upon their principles out of recent discussions, that by co-operating they might be capitalists, landlords, and all; and if they were so, how should they fail to have enough? Passing by the question of whether their attempts to carry on the trade of capitalists and landlords would not end in smoke, does it follow that if they were successful to the utmost which is possible, there would be any more to eat than now? And if there was not, how are the masses to be better fed? There might be the increase of food that might arise from growing more potatoes, and less beef, and no venison; but it is to be feared this would fall very far short of the expectations conceived.

I shall be glad to have more acquaintance with "A Reformer of the People," who regrets that he has been "studying me ten or twelve years," and can make nothing out of me, except a desire to repeal the corn laws. This is confirmatory of a theory I have sometimes been tempted to entertain, that if a man wants to keep a secret, there is no way like committing it to print. Depend upon it, he will be astonished to find how well the project answers. But perhaps I can suggest to our friend, one reason of the appearance which he notes. Beyond a belief that the repeal of the corn laws was a grand and tempting opportunity for the improvement of the condition both social and political of the people, and which nothing but the most grievous error and grossest mistake could have induced the people to throw away,——I have no one particular nostrum for the improvement of the people, though I could point out fifty ways in which the improvement ought to be promoted or the contrary resisted, as fast as the opportunities arose. I believe the fight, whether it is going for us or against us, is almost always a fight along a long line, where sometimes successes may be balanced, but in general one party or the other on the whole is gaining ground. *Grandes manœuvres*, as Napoleon would have said, when we can come at them; but till then, a constant wear and tear, *battu battant* as the same authority has it, seeing in every thing the tendency either to the people's interest or to the contrary, and acting vigorously accordingly.

London, 18 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XII.

Change will come, when it will.

Sir,—I see with pleasure the increase of Chartist meetings of various kinds in your neighbourhood, because it proves an increase of the stuff which when the time comes for its being usefully employed, will be turned towards obtaining the improvement of the condition of the numerous classes. There is no use in being over particular, in having things done in the best possible way. There is little reason in this world to trust much to any connexion between conduct and results; except that there is a general rule of some kind for knavery and misgovernment always falling upon their feet, in spite of all that may be done on their own part or that of their opponents to prevent it. Change will come, like the breaking up of the frost, when it will; and all that man can do, is to be ready to sow the seeds when the weather opens, trusting to the chances, which after all are far from certainty, of a prosperous result.

All human knowledge in fact comes through failures and disappointments. What cannot be done in one way, must be tried in some other; and so it will be here. Let every man have his way, till he finds out in which way advance is to be made, and in which none. There will always be somebody who could have told the truth years before; but he had no patent for demonstrating it to be truth, before its time.

It is wisdom therefore to have no quarrelling about how the Chartist influence shall be turned to use, if in the meanwhile it is accumulating for the time when the discovery of how to use it shall be made. Nobody cares for the delay of a generation or two; or if they do, they must only set themselves the more eagerly to work out the problem, or succession of problems, which is to be solved. And the main problem is, Given a people with no political power;—how to get it? That there will be a score of blunders, is next to certain. The Newport one has perhaps got over one of the most dangerous; and so far the cause is the better for the result.

Encourage therefore all sorts of rising and youthful Chartisms, as in a country like France, exposed to the designs of the revived Holy Alliance of the Whigs, you would encourage all kinds of youthful patriotisms. The singing of the *Marseillaise* may not be the substantial weapon by which the Whig alliance is to be beaten back; but the more join in the song, the more will be the elements out of which substantial defence may at some time be constructed.

London, 16 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. VIII.

What are the Taxes for?

Sir,—You have quoted a witty and very true passage on the omnipresence of taxes. But add to this the question, of what these taxes are for. Are they for any necessary defence, —for the expense of administering justice,—or in any other way contributing to the benefit of the people who pay them? Clearly not; the first proof of which is, that it is the boast of the ruling powers that the people or the greater part of them are excluded from all share, either in settling what the taxes shall be, or determining the mode of their expenditure. By far the major part are both levied and expended, as might be expected, for purposes directly hostile to the interests of the payers. One portion is expended on war, not for the defence of the country, or for any just or creditable object, but for the commission of degrading acts of injustice and low villainy, which working-men would revolt at, but lords and gentlemen think lordly and gentlemanly, and toss up their noses at the vulgarity of any that venture to be of the contrary opinion. Another portion is regularly expended for the depression of trade and commerce, by impeding the carrying-on of trade in those quarters where it would be profitable, and forcing the country to pay for the goods of monopolists who are themselves regulators both of the taxes and of their application,—and who band together with the instinct of sworn brethren, wherever the interest of the general robbery is touched. Most of the colonial possessions as they are called, are specimens of nursery for this kind of fraud. An English merchant, as things go, is

for the most part not a man enriching himself and his country at the same time, but a man living upon the loss of the country, through his possession of a slice of the general fraud upon the public. In fact we live under a constitution of things on which might be written, "Forasmuch as it is expedient and necessary, that means be provided for doing the greatest possible evil to the inhabitants of the country and the least good, be it enacted &c., that something like the existing state of rule be maintained and secured." If this is denied or doubted, it will be enough to reply by asking, whether the fact of the vast majority being excluded from all influence on either the taxation or the expenditure, (in the face, too, of a pretence set up to the contrary when popularity is to be carried by falsehood,) is not by itself evidence complete.

London, 14 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. L.

THE POOR LAW.—ALL PARTIES COMBINED AGAINST THE PEOPLE.

SIR,—The Poor Law seems to be in a fair way of being fixed on us for ten years; which some of the aristocracy it appears particularly approve, because it will "prevent agitation, by proving that there is no intention of giving way."

As somebody once declared, (and it was considered a splendid declaration,) that for a nation to be free it was sufficient for it to will it; so it appears equally undeniable, that for a nation to be enslaved it is sufficient for it to will it. Or it will come to the same thing, if it can be persuaded to will the means.

When the idea first occurred to the aristocracy of cutting down the provision which had been in old times made for the poor by law, the first danger which presented itself, must have been that of the people running *a-muck* against the Corn Laws which were the restriction upon their keeping themselves. And an exquisite judgment seems to have been exercised, in forming a conclusion on this critical subject. Great must the anxiety have been, to watch any

movements of the people towards this point; and great the exultation when one false light after another which was sent down, appeared to be successful in attracting the popular attention in pursuit. Of this nature decidedly, were the Tory demonstrations directed against the Poor Law, by men whose aim was to guide the popular fury against any place except the weak one. The Factory Bill was in the main a *shoy-hoy* (in the phrase of the author of the Political Register) of this description; and numbers of well-meaning men ran after this jack o'lantern, without discerning that its tendency was only to land them in the bog and there keep them out of the way of doing harm. Everything that could be contrived, to excite popular feeling against anything but the great foundation of the cruelty and the iniquity, acted like what doctors call a counter-irritation, and kept the attack from the alarming place by directing it somewhere else. The "philosophical radicals" too, feeling that they had pockets, to a great extent took up the policy of professing to protest against the "abuses" of the New Poor Law, intending thereby any gross and open proceedings for killing off the superfluous poor, always meaning by superfluous those whom it was not convenient to the landed monopolists to allow to support themselves. And so in the end the people were entirely diverted from the effective line of defence, and the landed aristocracy "slipp'd the slave's collar on, and snapp'd the lock," without being a bit the less to this day held out in parliament as the natural leaders of the people.

What chance there may be, even at this eleventh hour, for the masses of the community to see the snare that has been laid for them, and take their remedy by throwing themselves on the point that would dissolve it, appears impossible to determine. The people are said to be fickle; it is pity but they would now and then be fickle-the right way.

London, 18 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XVII.

Way in which Parties become strong.

Sir,—I rejoice to witness the tokens of a disposition at Leicester, to work while it is called to-day. No man can get all

he wants, all at once. There is no use in volunteering reasons why enemies should resist; but as there is no secret to be kept in the present case, let it be settled, if it must be, that there is a party in the community, large in numbers though at present weak in power, who intend to pursue the objects stated in what is called the "Charter," through evil report and through good; and who, if they are pressed for answer, make no scruple of answering that they will close with anybody who will give them present strength, for the sake of what they may be enabled to add to it afterwards.

This is the way all parties hitherto have from weak become strong; and not by declaring that they will have what they want, and all they want, and as the means to it they will take nothing by the way. This might do for a party which is either very powerful by itself, or which sees the certainty of being joined by other parties to the full extent of its wishes. But it would be hard to prove, that the party of the people, whose complaint is that it is without political power and wishes to get it, is in either of these situations.

The great question on an occasion like the present, is not whether an operation which seems to be brought within the range of possibility, would give to this or that individual, a particular advantage he would desire, and which it would be just that he should have if it could be got; but whether upon the whole it has a tendency to put the popular cause on a better footing than it was before.

On the subject, for instance, of an extension of the Suffrage to Householders, scarcely any man who is not in a position for being operated upon either by the desire of getting what would be personally more useful to himself provided he could get it, or by fears of the increase of popular power displaying themselves in disguise, feels serious doubts that almost *any* extension of the Suffrage, not conducted purposely in a partial and dishonest form, must advance the popular cause. Suppose, for example, the suffrage should happen to be extended so as to leave the relative strength of the opposing parties exactly as at present, but doubling the numbers of each, few on reflection will doubt, that this would in the end be a great gain to the popular cause, and that repeating the operation as many times as could be compassed, would be increasing the effect. For the powers of corruption on the whole, would manifestly be weakened every time, and the consciousness of popular power increased; and the consciousness of power does not always display itself in voting for the corruptionists.

Again, on the subject of Triennial Parliaments, a considerate umpire can hardly doubt that great gain would arise to the popular cause by their introduction; though there would be great further improvement in making them annual, or what would come almost to the same thing, changing a third yearly. But if powerful masses will join for any one of these, it would surely be bad policy for those whose complaint is that they have nothing, to refuse to accept the approach to good which is offered them.

Hoping to see the progress of the spirit which makes success, I remain, &c.

London, 18 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XX.

THE NEW POOR LAW FOR TEN YEARS; WHICH MEANS FOR EVER.

SIR,—It appears that we are to be fixed with the New Poor Law for the next ten years; which means for ever. You will perhaps agree with me in thinking, that the clue to this enormity, lay from first to last in the inkling which the interested classes had got, that the people at large were not sufficiently instructed to go to the point which made the cruelty and iniquity of the whole. It is not impossible that myself, with other well-meaning persons who dabble in writing, may have done something towards bringing on this consummation. For I remember as many as fourteen or fifteen years ago, in publications which were not altogether without readers, declaring with something like glee, that the poor rates "must eat up the Corn Laws;" little surmising the possibility, that the people were so dull and defenceless for any substantial purpose, as to see the support of the poor diminished or taken away, and the legislation that made the poor continued in force. But so the thing is; when David counselled to put no trust in princes, he would have done no harm if he had added, nor in people either. Had the people been in a state of information sufficient to induce them to throw themselves against the Corn Law when threatened with the New Poor Law, one or other must have given way; the aristocracy might have had its choice, but it would have been impossible for it to have both together.

Instead of this, advisers stood up, begging of the people to oppose the New Poor Law, but of all things not to oppose the Corn Law which made its bitterness and its iniquity. Which was exactly what the aristocracy wanted; and the moment this counsel appeared to take effect, the aristocracy saw their point was gained. And then stepped forth the tribe of "good reformers," who would not "support the abuses" of the New Poor Law, meaning that they would not support the visible extinction of superfluous paupers by direct means, but eager to give the support of their authority to the main object, which was the getting rid of the provision for the poor for the benefit of the law-makers. And so they got strength for their ten years' bill. Such are the processes by which the people are plundered, and oxen driven to the flesher's, when one or the other have strength without knowledge for their defence.

London, 18 *Feb.* 1841.

No. XVIII.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

EFFECTS OF MACHINERY ON THE WORKING CLASSES.

SIR,—The Secretary to the Nottingham Charter Association, if I apprehend rightly, appears to admit that "the increased quantity" of goods made by machinery may to a certain extent be the cause of a market being found, "but it is evident there are bounds even to this." Does he know anything to which there are not bounds? What was urged was, that there is always a tendency of this kind to a certain extent, and that this was overlooked, or not sufficiently regarded, by the operatives in their calculations.

The next statement is, that "it is impossible to find a market for the enormous quantity of goods we are capable of producing;" on which representation, unproved and unexplained, the working classes unhappily take the opinion of their leaders, that the way to remedy is to shut up the market abroad, or at all events that there are substantial reasons why they should refuse to join actively in opening it.

I much doubt, and the letter before me does nothing towards relieving me, whether machinery or no machinery makes much direct difference in the condition of the working classes, while they consent to allow, or to demand, that their market shall be closed. An indirect difference might be

made, from the fact that if machines were non-existent, the working classes would wear and use the kind of clothing and other conveniences which could be made by about the same quantity of labour as now, and consequently of a ruder and inferior kind; which if no very great loss, would at all events be no gain. But on the other substantial question, of eating, till somebody can show me that there would be more or less to be divided and eaten in consequence, I must hold to my opinion, that out of a bushel there would not come five pecks, and that the share of each of the labouring classes would be neither better nor worse than at present.

The "friend who made the diligent inquiry," inquired for many years together, and was as closely and personally acquainted with all the concerns of the working classes as the Secretary of the Charter Association or any of its members can by possibility be. But what he said does not appear to be understood. He said that he never could hear of an instance where the total amount of hand-labour had been reduced. He did not say invariably *in that particular trade;* though he did say that in notable instances which he specified, the workmen had raised an outcry of loss in the particular trade, which on examination turned out to be directly contrary to the fact. No man denies, for instance, the certainty, that as fast as threshers were put out of employment in that capacity by the introduction of threshing-machines, they were never taken up again into employment as threshers at all. But if it could be proved, as the assertion of my friend if carried out in that direction would intend, that on the whole an increase of demand for labour in various other occupations took place, it would be vain for the threshers to stand out and say, we love threshing, we will be nothing but threshers, we do not care whether there will be more employment on the whole or less, there will be less employment for threshers, and that is enough for us, and therefore we will turn out, and try to coerce the remainder of the community into enacting that the community shall not gain a shilling at the hazard of losing sixpence to a thresher. On which all that can be said is, that if the threshers attempted to put this into execution, there would be no wonder if in the end they were eminently unsuccessful; and the same will be the end with all who follow the like counsel.

You *do not* pass your time in the bastille because you have to compete with improved machinery, but because you follow leaders who advise to close your market and halve your food by way of remedy, on the pretence of obtaining political

power and influence, of which those leaders are to be the receptacles, and which neither they nor you will ever get, the way they are leading.

It *is not* the fault of the middle classes that the corn laws are not repealed. They would have been in a fair way of being repealed before this time, if the men that keep their hounds on the increased price of bread had not been able to say, "You see the working classes are against you;—they know very well that if there was only a fourth as much corn as now, their wages would rise till they got as much out of the fourth as out of the whole, and that if there was four times as much as there is, their wages would fall till nobody got more of it than now." It was because the working classes, great haters of political economy, vast despisers of theory, set up this most idiotic of theories against the economy of their own bread-baskets and the stomachs of their wives and children, that the thing is not in a way of accomplishment already. Somebody has said, for a nation to be free it has only to will it. It is at least equally true, that for a nation to be enslaved and starved, it has only to exert the same volition the other way.

There was a time, you say, when England imported the manufactures of other nations. There was a time too, when England exported her manufactures to other nations; but for twenty years a premium has been paid to foreigners to manufacture for themselves instead, and the manufacturing operatives are rubbing their eyes, and much doubting whether the thing is not best as it is. If other nations *will* follow the example of England and manufacture for themselves, let them do it when they can; but do not club to enable them to do it, nor pay them for doing it when it would not be their interest to do it without. But the *theory* of the leaders of the working classes is, that this ought to be done. It is great pity but the working classes would take to a *practice* for themselves.

Who told you the soil of this country was not properly cultivated? Have not the agriculturists the same interest in making the most of their lands, that you have of your trade? At this moment there is before me the following passage in a letter from an agricultural labourer, in the leading journal of a county where knowledge is making great progress among the agricultural classes (*Suffolk Chronicle*, 13 Feb. 1841). "Is agriculture declining, or are the arable lands in this country lying dormant for the want of occupiers? No, directly the reverse; *for never in the memory of man was land bought or hired with more avidity than at the present moment.*" Would you believe the agriculturists, if they told you the mills and manu-

factories were not properly worked, and it was only for want of knowing how, as the plough-boys could show them, that the manufacturers did not produce twice as many manufactures as at present? Mind the business to which God has called you, and in particular avoid giving premiums to foreigners to take the work out of your hands when there is no occasion for it. And do not do anything so like teaching your grandmother to eat eggs, as wander out of the business you are acquainted with, for the chance of persuading people that the wits of all the landlords and their farmers and farming-men, are not competent to know when land can be profitably cultivated, unless you come out of your mills to tell them.

Finally, when you conclude with declaring that nothing will serve you but POLITICAL POWER, recollect that the first part of your complaint is that you have none to begin with, and that the disposition of anybody else to assist you in getting any, will be exactly in proportion to the ideas formed of your fitness to take care of yourselves and other people;—which will not be promoted by many portions of the course at present taken.

London, 17 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. VII.

FREE GOVERNMENTS ENCOURAGE ALLOWING MINORITIES TO BE HEARD.

SIR,—How is anything to be wrung from a legislature, even "by the voice of public opinion unanimously and loudly expressed," when the organization of government is directed to preventing that voice from being heard, at all events till it assumes the form of brick-bats or other dangerous missiles? The plan and object of the mode of government, is that the people shall not be heard unless by accident. Those who will shout with the aristocracy, shall be heard and welcome. But for those who may go the other way, there shall not even be a voice.

As a way of putting the truth of this to the test, I would ask you whether it is not notorious that at this moment a large numerical portion of the community, are fixed in their determination to press and never desist from urging the advancement of certain objects they conceive necessary for their well-being,

under the title of the Charter. Many of these are of the "slave class," but all of them are not. But, I would ask, do the whole of them together possess the means of sending one representative of their opinions into that assembly, which impure as it professedly is, must, if any peaceful way exist at all, be the road to amendment of any kind?

In reality there is always some difficulty in giving a voice to a minority;—not supremacy, like what was in the minds of the dunces who talked about a *tyrannical majority*, but a voice for the representation of its opinions and the statement of its arguments. It is plain that it would be within the limits of possibility, that an extensive and powerful minority, as suppose a third of the whole voting constituencies, should be possessed with a strong and a growing opinion, like what for instance Protestantism must have been at the period when its favourers made that proportion of the active population, and yet be excluded from the power of possessing a single representative in what is facetiously denominated the council of the nation. It is undeniable that accidental causes may in practice modify the operation of this principle; but the principle is there, except so far as it is modified by accidental causes. Now the fair and desirable thing in such a state of affairs, would be that the minority should have an approach to a third of the representatives. The effect of the contrary system, is like that of some kinds of traps; all is quiet and safe till there is an overbalance, and then down the trap comes. If a way were sought to make the shock more sensible when it came, no better way than this could be devised. Our political Protestants the Chartists, must have no means of utterance, there must be no opportunities of combination or agreement with them, none for softening down either the animosities or misunderstandings they may unjustly cultivate in respect of other people, or other people in respect of them; but they must wait till they make the balance turn, and then they must be brought into preponderance with all their asperities about them, and other men will marvel at the harshness with which they will exert it. This is not sense; but it is custom. It is the way of the world, and of all governments framed to secure monopolies of ill-used power to a portion of the community. A free government, is one in which care is timely taken for meeting this danger, by providing for the gradual introduction of the feelings of minorities. All new opinions must begin with minorities; and all improvements are something new. It is evident that in the determination of the operative masses to be heard in making

the laws by which they are to stand or perish, there is a principle in magnitude akin to that which appeared in France under the absolute monarchy; and, as in that instance, the case appears to admit of no solution, but either the old one, or the alternative of preventing its arrival by concession.

As there is no use in asking adversaries to bore us a hole to let us out of prison, we must try to bore one for ourselves. I would suggest therefore for consideration, whether the effective way would not be to begin at once, to work at all elections, *for* a man of our own where any chance can by union or otherwise be had, and where it cannot, *against* the man of the party that is in power.

London, 15 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XIX.

Earl Fitzwilliam and the Leeds Reformers.

Sirs,—The answer of the Chairman of the Leeds Meeting to Earl Fitzwilliam, is a grand state paper, proceeding, for a rarity, from a friend of the people.

In the struggles which immediately preceded the Revolution of the "Three Days," there used to be a great deal said about making the representation "harmonize" with the government. The meaning of which on that occasion evidently was, that the government was to be a given thing, to wit monarchico-despotic, and the representation was to be snipped and docked, till it should neither have the will nor the power to do other than subserve the purposes of the government.

This threw a broad light on the meaning of "harmonize." The question is always of which is to be the model and which is to be cut down to it; as in the celebrated instance of the bed of Procrustes, the question only was, whether the bed or the man was to be made to "harmonize."

So here the question is, first whether the House of Commons, as now constituted, fairly represents the people; and secondly, if it does not, which is *to* be made to "harmonize." In other words, are the people to be cut down to the House of Commons, or the House of Commons altered to fit the people?

The question of whether the House of Commons as it is, represents the people, may be otherwise stated by asking

whether it represents the several classes and interests of the people, either universally or what may be called "by sample." And here the first point that forces itself on observation, is that large and the largest classes of the community, are avowedly and by profession not represented at all. It is not denied that they have interests of their own, distinct from those of anybody else; but the inference drawn from this is, not that they ought on that account to be represented, but that they ought not. The answer given them is, because you have interests of your own and so have other people, therefore those other people shall be represented, for the express purpose of enabling them to put down your interests and substitute their own.

The next part of the question, therefore, comes on, of whether the harmony that does not exist now, is to be produced by the operation of the saw and stretcher on the House of Commons or on the people.

The portion of the people whose injury is the most manifest, have got or taken the title of the "democracy." For nobody that has taken care of himself, is ever, in these days, of the democracy. Forty years ago, a man would have been transported for talking about the democracy. It is certainly something gained, that the democracy shall walk abroad, without danger of anybody being transported for calling it by its name.

Such then, at all events, has been the result of the Leeds Meeting. The democracy is recognized, as what, if it is not now a part of the state, intends to be. In things of this kind, the beginning is much. The political life of the English democracy, may be said to date from the 21st of January 1841.

London, 13 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. VII.

MR. MARSHALL'S MANIFESTO.

SIR,—The remarkable quality in the memorable letter of the Chairman of the Leeds meeting in answer to Earl Fitzwilliam, is the way in which it breaks through the conven-

tionalisms by which men are handed down from age to age as slaves to every evil principle.

If you desire an instance of the meaning of conventionalism, take the latest, where on occasion of voting thanks to the military agents in certain operations considered by many in this country as deeply disgraceful to the British name and government, the principal agent in such opposition as there was, could not help "hoping the time would never come when a division of opinion in the House of Commons should lead it to refuse a vote of thanks such as this." Why does not our accommodating champion engage to vote thanks to an enemy's commander, when he has displayed the powers which lead to military success; if it is to be entirely dissociated from any opinion of the deed's being justifiable or the contrary?

To take another, the government in a colony puts down the law by military force, and traitorously possesses itself of the money of the public. Its armed mob, on pretence of preventing assistance to the defenders of the laws, makes a piratical landing on the American shore, and there commits untold because uncounted murders, with circumstances of horror and brutality not to be paralleled in any of the other concussions of countries professing to be civilized. The government *afterwards* adopts the act of its banditti; and when one of the agents, or an individual charged as such, is found on the American side and brought to justice, he becomes an object of universal sympathy in the British parliament, and the Irish leader in particular finds it an occasion for the exercise of that peculiar policy by which he seeks to protect Ireland from the evils of Orange misrule at home. And all this, because there is a conventionalism which says, that "when it prospers, none shall call it treason."

From conventionalisms of this kind, Mr. Marshall has successfully broken loose. There has not been so significant a state paper since some of the earliest years of the French Revolution, nor one which has spoken out great truths with so much of freshness and effect. The point of pre-eminent power, is in the able handling of the subject of "harmonizing." It will be within your recollection, that at the period immediately preceding the "Three Days" in France, there was great talk both in France *and in the Quarterly Review*, of the necessity of making a government and a representation "harmonize." But the idea always was, that the government was to be despotic or as it liked, and the representation was to be cut down or altered till it was brought into the "required

harmony." Mr. Marshall's letter might be supposed intended for a quiet satire upon this absurdity. Without perhaps categorically saying so, it breathes and lives upon the assumption, that if the government does not harmonize with the people, it must be made to do. A premium for saying the thing in round terms, could not have made it more distinct.

What the Leeds Meeting will turn out, may in a great degree be in the recesses of the future. But it certainly will not turn out to have been a meeting lacking of a Chairman.

London, 19 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XIX.

COOKERY-BOOK OF THE ROYAL AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION.

SIR,—Your correspondent the "Agricultural Labourer of West Suffolk" appears to enter into the jest, of the Royal Agricultural Association occupying itself in devising plans to feed the farm labourer with inferior food; for to this, much as the Royal body may bounce at the intimation, it virtually comes. There is a consciousness that the farm labourer lives worse than is defensible, and they desire to mend it if it can be done without being at their own expense beyond a premium for the cookery. They are willing to contribute the cookery, if they can discover it by means of a premium; but that is all. In other words, the besiegers who keep the town shut up are willing to offer a premium for the best ragout of shoe soles, and the most cherishing soup that can be made out of boiled bones and nettle-tops; but not a bit of anything beyond.

A point of great value in your correspondent's letter, is the evidence he gives to the fact, that "never in the memory of man was land bought or hired with more avidity than at the present moment." Which strikes directly at the absurd notion taken up by some of the spinners and weavers, that it is all through the idleness and stupidity of the classes connected with the land, that corn is not multiplied on the home soils to any extent they could desire.

In reference to the concluding part of his letter, your cor-

respondent will perhaps excuse me for trying to direct his attention to the fact, that after all, the wages of the working classes either in the agricultural or manufacturing department, do not depend on any man's benevolence, nor are settled by any man's sense of duty, but by other causes, reducible in the main to the proportion between what there is in the shape of the necessaries of life to divide, and the number among whom it is to be divided. And he who feels moved to interfere to amend the condition of these classes, as is evidently in the mind of your correspondent, must do it by going to a point which shall effect some augmentation in the quantity to be divided, and not expect the consequence to arise from any appeals to benevolence, propriety, or justice, unless indeed as they may be directed to shaming men out of the legislative systems by which the wages of the working classes are reduced.

London, 18 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XVIII.

THE LEEDS MEETING.—WHAT COURSE IS TO FOLLOW NEXT.

SIR,—The letter of the Chairman of the Leeds Meeting, in reply to Earl Fitzwilliam's letter of excuse for non-attendance, is the boldest and most decisive state paper which has appeared in Europe for many years. And it has the further peculiarity, that instead of being intended as the introduction to murder and sudden death, or any of those personal disgraces which we are obliged to swallow at the hands of the meanest aristocracy that ever misguided a nation, it is directed to the establishment of popular rights, and the improvement of the universal happiness.

The writer of that, would find it difficult to cheat if he would. It is beyond the art of man, with the most moderate care and caution exhibited on the other side, to make such a declaration as this, and do away with the good of it afterwards. He may try if he likes, but he must infallibly be disappointed. And besides this, men in general do not make an effort of this kind, without being sincere. The deceivers are not sufficiently skilled labourers, to go this length in pur-

suance of their objects. No doubt some of the speakers of the Leeds Meeting came there with a view to get up a mere demonstration which should be turned to the advantage of the ministry. But see if it does not turn out, that the Chairman was not of the party.

Forty years ago such a declaration must and would have been met, by the immediate hostility of the government; on the same principle that every appearance of national or patriotic feeling in India must be suppressed by slaughter and sudden death, or else the tyrants come down and submit to defeated tyrants' fate. The impression would be so powerful, under their known state of physical strength, as to leave no alternative. But happily in the present case, the misgovernment is weak, and knows that it is weak. It consequently dares not proceed to extremities, of which the results would be as likely to be on one side as the other. So far then, there is a point established and a point gained.

But all this excites an increased desire, to know what course is to be followed next. There have been cheers, and greetings, and salutations; but all these break no bars. Where is the point upon which the combining forces will agree to move? Is a bill for some kind of extended suffrage to be brought in by the member for Kilkenny, and carried forward as far as may please the member for Dublin and vex none of his friends? And when this has been done and left us where we were, is it to be done over again, and how often? And when the next generation and the few out of the present who may have outlived the process, shall be so much nearer to the promised land, can anybody gratify a laudable curiosity, by saying what it is likely will be done then?

It is certainly a great step to have gained what we have. But there will be additional obligation due to anybody who will propose something to follow, of which the middle-aged of the present generation may be likely to see the issue.

London, 17 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XXI.

How can the People get the Suffrage?

Sir,—"One of the People" is to blame, if he writes violently and unreasonably against a man who has many friends among his own class, and against whom the worst that could ever be said was, that he did not agree in opinion with everybody that he could wish. At the same time there is no great harm done. We are all of us apt to get heated in controversy, and to say things of which we should not like the exact counterpart to be applied to ourselves or to our associates. He is the best man, who in this way does the least. Besides which, no man should be too sure that he is right. Everybody can remember instances, in which upon better acquaintance he has gone clean over to the other side of the case; and what has happened once, he can never be quite sure shall not happen again.

Much better would it be to sink differences for the present, and try to be ready to take a course when the opportunity, as every day makes more likely, shall present itself for every man's doing what he thinks most useful to his cause. Neither the Whigs nor the Tories seem to rejoice in the prospect of an election which they view as likely to be forced upon them; and the ready inference is, that it is because they are aware there is another party which will profit by it. Already, in places which are on the alert, that party is up and doing; let "One" and all "of the People" bestir themselves according to their ability, and settle in their own way to what their individual exertions shall be given. Anything but complaining, and wanting, and wishing, and then when the time comes, sitting down without the consciousness of having made an effort in any direction to put a stake into the hedge.

I must apologize for employing a fragment of a letter to reply to the very friendly communication of Mr. Edward Hamilton of Bolton Moor. I confess I do not feel much alarmed, at the ignorant agriculturists who would take the soil in hand if their genius was not sharpened by a prohibition of the manufacturer's selling his goods abroad for food. At all events I think the manufacturers, who are the same flesh and blood, should in fairness have their intellects sharpened by the application of the same kind of stimulant, in the shape

of a bounty for twenty years on foreign corn. I recommend on this subject another dose of Mr. Paulton's lectures. On the question of the suffrage, we agree already; except on one teazing point, which is, how you are to get it. I will certainly go with any man to get the suffrage, provided he can show me he is going a reasonable way. But I must plead guilty to the belief, that to shut up foreign trade and impose the New Poor Law, was never the way to get anything for any man, except a daily driving deeper into the slough of political dependence.

London, 25 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XIII.

FORFAR ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—HOW FAR POLITICS SHOULD BE SUNK.

SIR,—Seeing my name in the account of the proceedings of the Forfar Anti-Corn-Law Association in your paper of the 12th instant, I take the liberty of remarking that I do not think I ever intimated any belief that the opposition to the Corn Laws generally throughout the country was "kept up as a means of preserving the existence of the Whig Ministry," or showed any particular anxiety that the opposers of the Corn Laws should "never interfere with politics." What I said, I believe, was, that a particular League, a long way from Forfar, though it is not impossible but it may have been operative in stirring up the question there, had given reasons for the suspicion that its object was to serve the Whig Ministry, rather than fairly and honestly to oppose the Corn Laws. But so far from being horrified at the application of the Anti-Corn-Law spirit to politics, I have always avowed that my great regret and lamentation was, that when the oppressed classes had a lever in their hands competent to oversetting all their enemies, they allowed themselves to be persuaded by ill-informed or interested leaders, to declare they would not use it.

Holding these opinions of the past, I cannot be expected to agree in everything contained in the same article in relation to the present. A man is found with a rope round his neck, and it seems we agree that the past "operation has produced the evils so luminously set forth." But a doubt is raised whether taking the rope away would "be the means of

removing them." In such circumstances, men very seldom hesitate to try. There must be some strong desire to see the man sent to another world, or powerful interfering motive of some kind, when a demur is raised to the little dangerous and comparatively easy experiment, of removing the cause that brought on the mischief. As all things are capable of argument, so there may be differences of opinion whether the removal would certainly produce the effect intended or not. But few people would hesitate to give the patient the benefit of the experiment.

"The progress of machinery on the Continent is not likely to be stopped by any act of our legislature." What, not by an act for taking off the premium paid to support and keep it up? The continental machinery is just as much supported from day to day by the encouragement levied for that purpose from the pockets of the British public, as were the herring busses of which you in Scotland may have heard, which sailed for cargoes of herrings that would not pay, the difference being made up by the bounty. The darkness of that age winked at the absurdity of paying our own people to carry on a losing trade; but what was that to the darkness of the present, which pays foreigners to take away our gainful one?

On the question of an Association taking no part in politics, there was something to be said on both sides; particularly after the oppressed classes had refused to join in making the repeal the instrument of their political liberation. If men associate together for some purpose conceived beneficial to the general health, as for instance the clearing and establishing of a mineral spring,—there seems no reason why politics should not be sunk so far as relates to obtaining the greatest possible support to the operation in question. But this creates no reason, why Liberals should not rush to Bath with a distinct intention to purge away their ill humours and mend their aptitude for political exertions, without taking umbrage at the fact that a certain number of Tories are to be found subscribing to the Pump-Room with a corresponding object. If the Tories can consent to join in getting rid of the common complaints, the Liberals may. At the same time, this only affects the question, of whether the two parties shall act together in the Pump-Room; and by no means touches the propriety and duty of the Liberals making any other use of their health and strength they can.

London, 23 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. IX.

The noble old Commonwealth.

Sir,—I rejoice to see in the columns of your new and enlarged series, so many historical references to the noble old Commonwealth, which was in fact the root and origin, not only of the government as at present established in this country, but of all the advances since made in political freedom by any portion of the world.

One use of references to this splendid time is, that nothing so completely disturbs and puzzles the common enemy. Let him deny that the proceedings of the Great Civil War and of the Revolution that followed it were, on the whole, "glorious acts of substantial justice," as one of the foremost of English classics has expressed it,—and he denies the right of the present tenants of the throne, and declares that they ought to come down and make way for some petty barbarian potentate it would not be easy to find when asked for. It is a grand thing to have got a throne founded on revolutionary principles. In fact it is one of the most staggering difficulties to the friends of arbitrary doctrines, that has yet befallen them. They cannot knock their heads in humiliation as they would wish, without remembering that they are bowing before the representatives of a grand, successful resistance to misrule, not limited in its consequences to this country, but repeated in at least two splendid copies, the American Revolution, and the French.

Of the lessons of wisdom, courage, and justice bequeathed to us by our forefathers during the period in question, it is true policy never to lose sight. As the centenaries of these great events are in the fact of passing over us, it would be worth consideration whether some public observation of the most remarkable of them would not be a reasonable act of gratitude to that Providence, which covered the heads of our predecessors in the day of battle, and finally wrought much victory for the good cause, though much may yet be left to improve and to amend.

London, 25 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LI.

We want the right Political Economy.

Sir,—It gives me pleasure to see the leaders of the Chartists in their addresses to the working classes, talking of "political economy" in a way that shows they are not afraid to acknowledge its existence. There may be good mathematics and bad mathematics, good accounts kept and bad, good seamanship and bad seamanship; and so there may be of political economy. But what we want, is to have the good and not the bad. The Professor of Political Economy in one of the Universities maintains, that because the landowners pay taxes, and he thinks an excessive share, therefore it is desirable, politic, sensible, and wise, that they should be allowed to keep out foreign corn, with a view to reimbursing themselves the shilling, through the loss of ten to their neighbours. If this is not the right Political Economy, we want to see the right set up against it. The Working Classes therefore must be their own political economists, and come down upon us with the proof of what is for their good and that of the community.

Indeed everything in this line looks vastly more promising than it did some time ago. Men are beginning to find out universally that truth is somewhere, and though it may be in a well may be found with looking for. And one result will probably be to discover, that truth is not so absolutely novel as has sometimes been supposed, but there has always been a true church somewhere, though the difficulty was to find it out.

While movements of this kind are making on one side, on the other side pains seem to be taken to impress on the masses of mankind the necessity of looking into their affairs themselves, and the avowed and designed inaptitude of present arrangements to carry on the machinery of society. Was there ever such an instance of the value of a jury of cooks, as has been lately enforced on an admiring public*? A ship's cook protested against being tried by commissioned officers, and begged to have a jury of cooks. Surely there was no fault in the man's request, except the unlikeliness that he should get what he asked for.

* See Note in p. 162.

Our political economy is likely to be on a par with our law, unless the new blood of the working-classes, like that of the Gothic races who came to the aid of the worn-out Roman Empire, will start us afresh with a new breed both of principles and practice.

London, 25 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XVIII.

Misdirection of the Working Classes.

Sir,—Your correspondent "No Free Trader" is an instance, it appears to me, of that mal-reasoning which makes men expect relief from every quarter but where it is likely to come from. His hope is, in persuading the hosiers to be "good Samaritans," and diminish their charges for the frames which the workmen consent to hire from them; the possibility being all the time, that the hosier is levying this increased rate, as the means of paying the extra costs which are levied from himself to keep the landlords in coach-horses, and without which he will and must stop altogether. No parallel has ever been given, to the weakness which has been displayed on this point among the English workmen, nor any match to the unfitness they have shown for substantially taking care of their nearest concerns or those of anybody else; and yet these are the men who are foremost to exclaim, that they will accept of no installment, hear of no composition, that they will take nothing but what they declare (though this again is among their mistakes) would put them in the capacity of doing away at one swoop with everything they considered hostile to their interests.

The master who will pay his men more than he can afford, and keep them at his own expense till he gets into the Bankrupt list, and how much longer is not said;—the master who will do this, is held out as the beginner of Reform at the right end, in comparison with whose merits, all attempts to open trade or reform other abuses are inconsiderable or naught. It is truly a melancholy specimen of the fitness of the classes who adhere to this, or do not disavow it, for the supremacy they demand.

Had the working-classes, or even a substantial portion of them, joined in the liberation of commerce when they were asked, they might ere this have "possess'd the towers of Gath," and been obliged neither to one man's charity nor another's, for comfort and prosperity. But none can go before their knowledge and their experience. When our friends have tried charity, tried complaint, and tried looking for help to the East and to the West, they will perhaps at last bethink themselves of trying common sense and freedom, instead of calling out for the "No Free Trade" that keeps their noses to the grindstone.

London, 25 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXI.

Names of the Mayor of Newport.

Sir,—It occurs to me as an interesting philological question, how many names the Mayor of Newport must have had, to prevent a verdict from being found against John Frost for firing on the same*.

Perhaps your Lyceum, which, as a newly-established body, must be in the prime of its zeal and energies, will throw light on the process of calculation to be pursued. If not, we must appeal to the older scientific institutions; and in the last resort, propose the question to the Ladies' Diary, if that useful work continues to stimulate the human intellect by the prospect of "three chances for eight Diaries" as heretofore.

London, 25 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XIX.

Refusal of the Working Classes to defend themselves.

Sir,—I beg permission to take advantage of the letter of Mr. Key, in your *Review* of last week, for the purpose

* In allusion to a trial before the House of Lords, where an individual charged with firing at another, was let off because nobody could agree upon the name or names of the latter.

of endeavouring further to impress the important points in which we evidently agree.

Whether a legislative provision for the poor is right or wrong when considered by itself, and as disconnected from all attending circumstances, is not the question which anybody has to settle now. The present question is, whether, seeing that there existed a prohibition on the poor being allowed to keep themselves, for which the claim to be supported by the rich in their extremity was of the nature of a partial compensation, though the most lame, imperfect, and ridiculous one that was ever forced down the throats of gulls or slaves,—whether, seeing that bad as it was, it was of the nature of partial compensation to the ridiculously small extent to which it went, it was not the very extravagance of cruelty and injustice to think of taking away or diminishing it, wretched as it was, and at the same time leaving the grand oppression to which it had been the partial though most miserably incompetent relief.

And now to see the mode in which this contemptible injustice was urged on the acceptance of the country. The poor, the men of nine shillings a-week or less, were told it was marvellously good for them that they should depend upon their own resources; that it would ameliorate their condition, and advance them in the scale of society. But the landlords, the men of from nine hundred to nine or ninety thousand a-year, did not announce that it was good for themselves that they should depend upon their own resources. No; they announced that it was good that everybody else should subscribe to keep them richer than their riches would have made them. They levied a tax, for their own gain, on the sinews and labour of all the remainder of society; and they had their way, because they were the legislators, and had previously made a law, that nobody should be legislators but themselves.

And when the working classes were told to oppose this huge enormity, they turned round and said, "God forbid; they knew a great deal better than that. They knew the men that told them so, would not say so if it was not for their own advantage, and what was for their advantage, could not be for other people's too. They would return to the old poor-law if the squires could be persuaded to it; but God forbid they should attack the squires' corn-law, which was the only thing that kept up the wages of the poor at all."

What is to be done with men, who insist on putting the muzzle of the musquet to their own shoulders, and the butt

to the enemy? What *can* be done, but leave them to the consequences of their own manual and platoon, and see what can be compassed after their experiment has had its way? They have now got the new poor-law, for ever and for ever, because they would not hinder it; because they insisted on following everybody that came down to them with a point-blank intention of preventing them from going the way to hinder it. What will they get next? or rather what will they not get, if the question is to be settled by their ability for taking care of themselves, or helping anybody else to do it for them?

London, 24 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. VIII.

Infusion of Honest Blood wanted in the Government.

Sir,—Your correspondent Radical, in your paper of the 4th of February, aims at the right point when he attacks the cant uttered on the spoliation and destruction of property which are to be the consequences of the universal extension of the franchise. The secret of the enemy to keep, is that this is precisely the state of things existing now, and which the extension of the suffrage would alter or prevent.

The thing wanted in the extension of the suffrage, is to bring the superior morals and honesty of the numerous classes, to bear upon the inferior ones of the richer. Accustomed for ages, like the cow-stealers of the old border time, to see in power only the means of gratifying dishonest passions at other people's expense, the classes possessed of power have in the main contracted an immorality of thought and conduct, a low and inferior estimate of public and private honour, which must either be corrected by an infusion of newer and better blood, or lead at no remote period to national misfortunes which it is easier to foresee than to compute.

In every department of the conduct of public affairs, an absence of principle, a defect of all attention to the lessons read to vulgar transgressors through the medium of the tread-mill or the gallows, and to national offences through the

long delayed but finally certain Providences which men call history, is the striking peculiarity which distinguishes British rule. Your correspondent needs no stirring-up on the nature of "the butcheries in Canada," the "slaughters in China," or the "aggressions in Egypt." But I must illuminate him a little on the nature of the "bloody quarrels" in India. "Bloody quarrels" are what may happen through the infirmity which flesh is heir to, and do not necessarily imply pre-eminence in guilt. But the disgraceful policy to which you and I and all of us are the bowed-down slaves and pandars, is this. No holder of power among the Indian governments is without a rival claimant to the throne. As fast therefore as any native potentate aspires to improvement, and shows signs of possessing the attachment of his subjects, the unprincipled knaves whom you and I find from time to time in honours and in pensions, attack him, declare his subjects rebels as the means of letting loose upon them the military brutality which tyrants in all ages have been allowed to exercise under the shelter of that term, and set up his rival in his stead, to be pulled down in turn by a similar process whenever he shows signs of strengthening himself by attending to the interests of those he governs.

Take the very last instance. A ruler in the remote country of Affghanistan had gained the confidence of his people, and was supposed to be acquiring strength in consequence. The British government immediately despatches an army to the spot, brings forward a rival claimant who had been deposed for personal crimes, including (unless all the intimations of his friends are false) those which are considered most revolting to British habits, declares his soldiers rebels, brutally shoots its own prisoners and gives up others to the executioners of the restored tyrant, and finally the successful general disgraces knighthood and tramples on military honour by advising the wretched puppet to establish an order and a decoration, which he incontinently puts upon himself and his officers, and the dishonouring and indecorous badge is at this moment paraded in the presence of the Queen, who as a woman only should have been preserved from such company as that, and not a soul among the high-minded mustachioed men, who tread so heavily on a civilian's toe sometimes with their fine feelings and their honour, dares grumble dislike, nor one of the so-called representatives of the people face the perils of exposing the insult to the existing sovereign in parliament.

It is to the true feeling of an honest and honourable people,

when it shall be combined with a little more knowledge and a little more unity of action, that we must look for the diminution of our evils, and the establishment of our country and government in some tolerable rank among creditable powers.

London, 22 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XX.

The Anti-Poor-Law Meetings.

Sirs,—Your Anti-Poor-Law Meetings will never produce any effect but that of comforting the enemy, so long as they contain only exhibitions of the inability or disinclination of the opposers to take the question by the end where alone it has any effective hold upon public opinion. There is no use in burking such facts, or trying to keep them out of sight; but the truth is, that whether right or wrong, growing masses of influential people in this country are of opinion upon the naked question, that there is no justice or policy in making any public arrangement for the support of the poor at all, and that it ought all to be left to private charity. But there was another set who thought, that this might be well enough if the question *was* a naked one, but because it is not, makes all the difference in the world, And the reason why it was not a naked question, was simply this,—that there were laws in existence for preventing the industrious classes from supporting themselves by the sale of their own industry, thereby creating the necessity for a continual extinction and killing-off of the working population, either in the arms of keepers of poor-houses, or in nobody's arms at all; and for this reason this set held and maintained, and hold and maintain still, that to take away or touch the old provision for the poor, without first or at the same time removing the laws which prevent the poor from providing for themselves, was a horror and a monstrosity, to which the tearing-up every rent-roll in the country, and turning out the holders to work upon the roads or wherever they might discover employment they preferred, would have been a trifling error and irregularity in the comparison.

But it turned out, that the poor had not genius to take up this line of defence. On the contrary they betook themselves

to crying out, "God forbid the sale of our produce should be free; it would lower our wages, which we are sure depend on keeping up the price of corn; and make a revolution in the country besides. Far be it from us, to wish to keep ourselves; we wish the gentry to take as many of our hours as they please for a loaf of bread, only we are wishful they would make us a poor-house when we can work for them no longer. We love poor-houses, and hate and abhor the being allowed to keep ourselves; only our bargain is, that the poor-houses shall be comfortable ones, and such as we can die in to our satisfaction."

With this prodigious folly, unmatchable in the history of the slavery of all times and countries, did the British working population, or the active and effective portion of them, scout and reject the opening that was made for them, and continue to do the same at this hour, heaping up their suspicions if not ill-will, on all who pointed out to them the inlet to shaking off the oppression they complained of. They have the New Poor Law because they would have it so. They have the New Poor Law because heaven and earth could not move them to put the resistance to it on the rational footing, or on that where they had powerful and influential people, *which themselves were not*, anxious to give their aid. And now the slave's collar is snapp'd on them, for ten years, which means for ever. As God helps those who help themselves, so God decidedly will not help those who will neither help themselves nor let anybody else do it for them.

London, 20 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. VIII.

GAMBLING IN SEATS IN PARLIAMENT.—SHORTENING OF PARLIAMENTS THE REMEDY.

SIR,—I am afraid you can never make a constituency entirely free from "a natural tendency to regard only class or local advantages." What can be done, seems to be to palliate the evil. And one of the most direct means to this, appears to lie in making an approximation to an equable division of Electoral Districts. If you take two hundred tradesmen in a petty town, and say to them "Elect a member or two members to be sent to parliament,"—what more direct method could anybody take for securing the representation of a class interest and nothing else? It will perhaps be urged, that the interests of this class are checked

and balanced by the interests of other classes, which in the same manner have their representatives somewhere else. But the practical misfortune is, that you are sure to have an undue representation of class interests of some kind after all. Spot your country over with nests of little jobbers of two or three hundred each, and though they will not all be of the same colour to a feather, they will agree in vastly too much to be the useful depositaries of a country's government.

To be sure, all this is but a flea-bite in comparison with the insulting enormity under which parliaments have hitherto been chosen, and which was avowedly calculated with the intent of making one class interest the tyrant of the rest. But the existence of the greater evil need not prevent operations against the small and the great too. The giving to the great towns, the metropolis included, a fair share of the representation by that rule of three which every man knows how to apply in his own case, appears to be the natural remedy, or at least alleviation, to the evil of class interests. Some may survive the process, as perhaps must always happen; but there will be an amalgamation and a crossing, which will be highly favourable to the general result.

I never can lose sight of the conviction which besets me, that of all assailable points where the popular influence could be applied against the existing fortress of misrule, the shortening of parliaments presents features of peculiar interest, both as regards the feasibility of alteration, and the effect of it when produced. The securing the power of misbehaviour to a pretended representative for a term of years, is in itself an insult to common reason, and a sort of "intent of tyranny avow'd," which would be tolerated no where else. That a man should be obliged to engage his butcher or his baker for seven years, would be a light absurdity in comparison; and the pretexts which it is very likely butchers and bakers might be found to hold out, that a lengthened period of this nature is necessary to secure their acquaintance with the taste of their customer and their ability to serve him, are of a piece with those which are urged in the more important instance. The fact is, that all governments want to obtain the greatest power of doing mischief which they can. To be crossed in mischief, is the one point they protest against with all their *might*. They dare not claim to be absolute governments by the direct use of the term; but they will claim it in all indirect ways, and upon all sorts of pleas which they think the community too stupid to see through. But it happens that the interest of the community on the other side, is that

the government shall do as little mischief as possible without check. And here it is that the government and the community are at issue. Some even of the friends of the people, cultivate a gambling spirit, and prefer the chance of securing themselves for a term of years, to the probability, amounting almost to certainty, that under a system of annual parliaments the real friends of the people would find their advantages greatly increased. The time when this gambling spirit acts most feebly, may be assumed to be when a Dissolution is in contemplation; for there is no candidate who at that time does not lie under some temptation to truck a portion of his expected prize of irresponsibility, for a diminution of the probable weight of failure if things should go against him.

London, 26 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XX.

MACHINERY.—REASONS WHY MACHINERY NEVER WILL BE PUT DOWN.

SIR,—I observe from a late number of your paper, that the question of the effects of machinery upon the labouring classes is attracting attention among the agricultural as well as the manufacturing body. The opportunity appears favourable for looking at the subject under something of a new aspect, or at all events with some change from the view of it which has grown wearisome by repetition.

The question as connected with agriculture has also a degree of interest, from the circumstance of agriculture having been one of the first quarters in which the resistance to machinery was displayed. The opposition to threshing-machines was among the earliest instances in which popular animosity exhibited itself in an active form.

There are a few circumstances connected with machinery of any kind, which it may be useful to state in the outset. The first is, that the experience of mankind has proved, that machinery is what never has and never will be put down or prevented. And the reason is plain; being, that there are always two people who are to make a gain by machinery for one that is to lose, so that there is no wonder that in the long run the interests of the two have overborne the interest of the one. If a cultivator of land, whether farmer or landlord or both together, makes a gain by the employ-

ment of for instance a threshing-machine, he in the first place gains what, taking matters at the very worst, the labourer loses; and secondly, he to a certainty expends this gain for something else on somebody, who will feel just as much obliged to him as the labourer can feel aggrieved. So that between the interests of the employer and of this somebody else, there is no wonder if the interests of the first labourer go to the wall.

Another circumstance is, that machinery is what every man applies to for his own use, as far as he is able, however much he may object to its application where the use is not to be to himself but to somebody else. The result of which, is a great weakening of any chance of a successful combination to put down machinery in general.

But after premising all this, the great question still is, whether machinery does harm, and whether on the whole everybody is not the better for it. And here the grand resource of the assailants of machinery, is to put an impossible case. They ask what would be the result if machinery should be improved till no manual labour was wanted at all. It is plain, if nothing else, that manual labour must be wanted to make the machinery, unless it could make itself, which is not likely. But put the case in the broadest way. Suppose a time should come when everything could be made by machinery without cost, and add if you please that agriculture should be improved till corn could be got for the trouble of shovelling up, as sea sand might be. Setting aside the ridicule of discussing a case so manifestly impracticable, what would the result be after all, but something like a return to the state of man in paradise where food was to be had for gathering, and clothes, if they did not hang on every bush, could be done without, which came nearly to the same thing? But the working classes will say, they would not be asked either to eat or wear. Who then is to do either? Are the landlords to grow corn without limits, and the numerous classes not eat it, nor of course pay for it? And are the manufacturers to multiply garments to infinity, and the numerous classes not wear? The thing will not hold water; the fear is altogether a false alarm. There is such a thing as classes of labourers being thrown out of employment by the introduction of machinery; as might arise from a change of process where machinery was not concerned. But the mere fact of the expenditure of the savings by those who make them, raises up a class who are benefited by the change, in addition to the value of the savings to those who make them in the first instance. The process is

something like that of taking water out of a fish-pond, where for every bucket-full taken out there should be two put in. And the mistake in the reckoning of the working classes, is like that of men who should magnify the violence done to the smoothness of the water by the perpetual abstraction of the buckets, without perceiving that there was a tendency to fill up these particular holes upon the spot, and a general tendency besides for the whole fluid to increase and not to decrease.

The working classes will answer, that these are the reasonings of men who do not personally suffer from the facts. To which the reply must be, that the sense of personal suffering does not necessarily secure a man's being the best judge of the origin of his complaint, or of the possibility of curing it without incurring greater ills. The man who neither feels the pain, nor has any interest in its continuance, is very generally the better arbiter. The operative says he suffers, and he knows it is all owing to machinery. Everybody else declares himself a gainer; and the operative himself admits it in respect of all machinery but the kind which he complains of. There seems to be a necessity at all events for waiting, till greater unity and power can be applied to any prevention.

London, 25 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XIX.

Co-operative System, as applied to Land.

Sir,—It is probably from having been much "in cities pent," that I really did not know the Co-operative system necessarily involved the producing of food from land, as well as of goods from the exertion of manufacturing industry. And even now, I feel the conviction that in the cases which fell under my eye, no attempt at provision for the production of food by agricultural process made any portion of the plan.

But supposing this addition universally made, it does not strike me that there is of necessity any improvement in the case. The question as before, is whether the co-operators are right or wrong in believing they have the power of overbidding, or under-working, the present practitioners. And if this is a doubtful matter in the case of manufacturing

labour, still more does it appear to be so in the case of agricultural, as being farther removed from the knowledge and habits of those who are to take the risk. So far as I have understood, it is among the manufacturing classes principally if not entirely, that the desire for the Co-operative system has hitherto taken root. If it is not so, then the part of the argument founded on this particular assumption, drops.

But whether the intended co-operatives are skilled in manufactures, or in agriculture, or in both, the great seat of the difficulty and doubt is in establishing the point, of their ability to contend with those who, for the present at least, must be their rivals.

Apply to the question as it relates to land. The co-operatives say they will have land, and they will be great gainers thereby. In what capacity do they mean to have it? Is it as labourers, farmers, or landlords? Or is it as some two or all of these together? If they mean to hold it as farmers, can they produce any accredited instance, where a joint-stock farming company, acting upon the peculiar advantages it must possess for unity of interest and action, for decision, for disinterestedness except as relates to the one "main chance," and for the ability of constant attendance to the watching of ten thousand little in-comings and out-goings, the sum of which makes or mars the concern, have driven out of the field the keenest and most active race of rivals that ever had prior possession of disputed ground, in the shape of a host of great and little farmers, bred up to their calling from their birth, and who never had other business in their lives than how to save or make a sixpence by personal attention? Have the "milk" companies done it; who applied themselves only to one very limited branch of farming at a time? Have the "eggs and butter" companies? Where is the example; where the authority for hope?

But they are to subscribe a very large capital, and so far, work at an advantage. In other words, they are to be farmers on a large scale; and will they have no farmers on a large scale, and with great capitals, to work against them? And are they sure that when they come to divide their large farmers' gains, (which are what they have in view), they shall not find them dwindled away, and sunk, in the way suggested in the supposed case of the intended partition of Mr. Peel's fortune by manufacturing cotton?

But their aspirations probably run higher, and they are to be farmers and landlords too; and then what is there to

hinder them from being rich and happy? And if they are to be landlords, how do they mean to come by it? If they meditate taking the land by force from somebody who has it now, that must be considered as a reserved case, to be taken in hand when they avow it. And even then, there appears no great difficulty in perceiving, that unless the new landlords can establish their power of producing more from the land than the old, they must be pinched as much as ever in defiance of their landlordship, or with only the petty difference which might arise from cutting down the personal rations of the present landlords to the general average. Believe me, there is not the slightest vigour in the argument, that because thirty thousand landlords now are well-fed and drive for the most part a chaise and pair, therefore thirty millions of landlords if such there were, would be all well-fed and drive their chaises and pairs out of the produce of the self-same land. But waiving the supposition that they mean to take the land from the present possessors, which would require a chapter by itself,—how are they to become landlords otherwise? Clearly only by one way; by buying land in the market like other people. The co-operatives therefore are to club their money and go into the land trade And by their success in this they are to stand or fall. It comes therefore to exactly the same point as ever. They are to rival the regular traders, who have been born to it and have been at it all their lives; and of this they feel so certain, that there is no limit to their depreciation of all who may hint a doubt.

Without encouraging bitterness on any side, it is difficult to restrain a smile, at seeing the unhesitating conviction with which the pursuers of this most unproved of all theories, charge with "political economy" all whose conclusions lie the other way, and who, in the ardent language of the speculators, desire "the mass to be still in a degraded state, subject to capitalists, aristocrats, priestcraft, and humiliation," when the door is open to "measures which could with ease give plenty, peace, liberty, and rationality, to all."

Till proof produced, it seems to be the old question of the alchemists over again; who lamented the blindness of mankind, in crouching in poverty and distress, when it wanted only putting the right thing into the right pot, for every man to roll in wealth and happiness. The single question is, will it do it or not? If any man can do it, let him; but one of the suggestions of prudence by the way, will be that his experi-

ments should be conducted with caution, and in particular, with pains to prevent the suffering by failure, from bearing an unreasonable proportion to the chances of success.

As this is written without having seen what your correspondent "O." promises in the form of specific calculations, it is evident that I have so far exposed myself to a possible disadvantage and danger. But I was anxious to avow the general principle upon which the final success must be dependent. It is easy to make calculations, which will effect success *if* all things turn out to expectation. But how if they do not? And this is precisely the question here.

London, 24 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XXII.

MANUFACTURING AND AGRICULTURAL MONOPOLIES.—ONE LOSS WILL NOT COMPENSATE ANOTHER.

SIR,—The manufacturers are manifestly getting their eyes open to the bearings of the Agricultural Monopoly upon their living; though they do not always advance so rapidly as might have been expected. Your correspondent "A Cotton Manufacturer" of Wigan, appears to be in the state, where great advance has been made, but more is practicable.

Supposing it were correctly true, as "your Tory journal" says, that the cotton lords were protected from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet, what would the result be, but that we were stupidly burning the candle at both ends, and that those who advanced or accepted this explanation in palliation, placed themselves in the rank of the philosophers who believe two losses make one gain? The country loses to an enormous extent by a monopoly on corn. We are told for our consolation, whether correctly or not, that it also loses to an enormous extent by a monopoly on calicoes. And one of these mischiefs we are expected to apply as a plaster to the other.

The strong point of answer for your correspondent to have made, would therefore have been, that if the reply of his adversary was well founded to the greatest possible extent, it

did not make the matter better, but worse, as concerns the community at large.

It was quite politic however, that your correspondent should also have exposed the nothingness of the argument as addressed to the exclusively personal interests of the manufacturers. When the landowners wink at monopolies for the manufacturers, they know that those monopolies are virtually null. The division of interests they offer, is like that of the man who ate up the oyster and gave away the shells. And this may be lawfully appealed to, to sharpen the zeal of the manufacturers to better their condition.

But perhaps I have been too hasty in assuming that your correspondent did not go to the strongest parts of his case; and his intention may only have been to do one thing at once. It would be well, therefore, if on a future opportunity, he would apply himself to tracing the way in which the monopoly price of food at home, meets him in his attempts to find a market abroad, and tell whether it is not in some such way as this. He proffers his goods in the United States, where he is to be pitted against a rival, say from Germany. For goods of the same quality, the rival will receive an equal quantity of dollars in America, which he will either remit home in bulk or in bills, or else vest in some American produce, as cotton. When any of these kinds of returns make their appearance in Europe, they will be applied to paying expenses and profits. But one thing must always be against the Wigan manufacturer and in favour of the German, —that supposing the workmen in the two countries to consume exactly the same quantity and quality of food, the portion of the proceeds in the manufacturer's ledger which are applied to pay for the food of the workmen, must be double at Wigan what it is in Germany. There can be little necessity to tell a manufacturer at Wigan, that he is delivered up tied and bound to his German rival, and that the legislature has laid a tax with the object of giving a bounty to the German dealer, to help him to cut out Wigan from the trade.

The manufacturers have been a long while in coming to an agreement on these points; but they must come to it at last.

London, 4 March, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XIV.

"FINALITY."

SIR,—The ministers have "abandoned Finality," as an ancient sinner abandons his vices, when it is of very little consequence whether he abandons them or not. Now that they have worn themselves down to an incapacity for good or evil, they suddenly declare their intentions to "live cleanly like gentlemen;" and expect other people to canonize them for their reformation. If it is sign of grace, it is of that late grace, which whatever its effects may be in the next world, is of none in this.

What is the use of debating whether Lord Stanley's bill or the "competing measure" of Lord Morpeth is more valuable; when the position of things is, that if one is carried it goes to the Lords to be clinched into law with all convenient speed, and if the other it goes to be kicked out with laughter and scorn? This is not what Napoleon would have called the "equal chances;" nor is it what any sensible man would be cheated with for an hour in the common walk of life.

The truth is, the Whigs, like the unhappy sinner in the comparison, are finished and brought to an end; and all who expect to witness further operations for good or evil, must break with them and adhere to somebody else. They have had their day, and abused it gracelessly; they are now drinking the dregs of a mis-spent life, and it is time for all who have any stamina of constitution left, to look out for other associates. The probability is, that their next move will be to attempt to coalesce with the Tories. In this it is not unlikely that they will be left by many of their present comrades. The hope which in many has held out against hope, must end by taking the course of joining a better standard. What is wanted now, is to set up that standard and support it. A very threatening movement towards this has been made at Leeds; and every day will demonstrate the importance of following up the operation. The Leeds Association is hampered with men who came there to mislead, and turn it off from any action hostile to the present ministers; and this influence it is not likely will be got rid of. If it was not for this, its clear course would be, to declare itself the heir to all the Whigs ever promised or un-

dertook; without waiting till the breath is out of the body of the departing, and in fact with rather a desire to demonstrate that they do not delay for that event.

Whatever others will do, the party who are for the extension of popular power should be everywhere on the alert, to make such use of opportunity as circumstances shall admit.

London, 2 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. X.

NO USE IN RUNNING HEADS AGAINST STONE WALLS.

SIR,—I am glad to see one of our imprisoned friends protesting against countenancing illegal proceedings. And this I should equally feel if the law were in all respects ten times as bad as it is,—ten times as impure in its sources and mode of determination,—and ten times as prominently calculated for the injury of the working classes, with intent to advantage the favoured few.

After this, I hope nobody will suspect me of wishing to excite any superstitious reverence for bad and dishonest laws. Our friends are beginning to re-appear from the prisons in which they have been shut up; and without at all derogating from the merits of the cause they supported,—or vouching for the just application of existing laws to their cases,—I would take the liberty of suggesting to them, in the words that have often been applied to an officer of light troops when sent on hazardous missions, "*Sir, it is not your business to be taken prisoner. You are to see and do all you can; but you are to come back and make your report.*" In our actual case, the law is like the enemy. It may be as bad as you please, and it is no calling of ours to make its defence. But the one substantial point at present is, that it is *strong*. There is no use in running heads against stone walls. We are men acting before an enormously superior force; and we must play our game accordingly, and not run heedlessly against the power and then complain of it. The problem we are trying to solve, is whether, strong as our opponents are, there is not a strength in the truth which shall enable us in the end to delve a foot beneath their mines.

Knowledge and union, beyond doubt, are the required things. If one set of men have ever domineered over others

anywhere, it has only been because in knowledge and union they were superior. There then is the point to which we must apply ourselves as fast as we are able. Every man who tries to spread knowledge, is the real spreader of popular power, whether he intended it or not.

London, 4 March, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LII.

LOYALTY AND RELIGION.—SCRIPTURE DOCTRINES THEREON.

SIR,—You deal too hardly with my Lord of London. When he declared the inseparable relation between loyalty and religion, he intended by the former "a rational attachment to the guardian of the laws." He meant to call to the minds of men in general, that in the scriptures, of which he is the official mouth-piece, one form of government more than another is not represented as the object of duty and attachment; or more strictly, (if his intention was to force the attention of the public upon this particular point), that monarchical government is represented as an infliction for sins, and a manifest deterioration of that earlier form of government where the chief or chiefs were selected by the popular will. For all this, the thanks of the liberal part of the world are due. It is not every bishop as times go, who in a luxurious age and at a Lord Mayor's dinner, would have chosen to bring forward the fact, that John Adams or whatever may be the name of the American President for the time being, is sheltered by as much or more of right divine, as could surround the purest scion of the House of Bourbon. This is always the effect of having ardent and superior minds in places of power and trust; the truth comes out, which less stirring intellects would blink and hide. The bishop manifestly intended a commentary on that expression of a worthy of past times, who defined the divine right of sovereigns as analogous to the divine right of constables. If religion is really a thing which is to affect men's every-day life and conversation, it clearly must acknowledge and support the power of the constable. And on the self-same grounds it must support the power of those who are to superintend the constable.

It is very likely the bishop's loyalty, and religion too, might be found a little one-sided if there was a determination to mea-

sure them by another man's measure. It may be doubted whether he burns with faithful attachment to that part of the ancient constitution, which spoke of "annual parliaments or oftener if need be." And it is highly probable his religion does not extend, to loving John Thorogood as himself. But it is our duty to be thankful for what we have received. It is always politic to dwell on the part in which men agree, in preference to that in which they may differ.

It might be a curious question to know, what point loyalty is fixed on in America, during a hot contest for the Presidency. It must be supposed to rest upon the image of an abstract President, to be determined *in futuro*. It is probable that in this way the bishop would settle any religious scruple upon the point, which should be referred to him. And the question is not in reality more puzzling, than may occur any day in a monarchical government, where in all cases and especially that of an heir presumptive, the fervour of loyal attachment must settle on the expected successor with a reservation, to wit that somebody else does not turn out to be the true king after all. It would be an odd thing, to see a man courting a lady, with a reservation that somebody else was not found to be the right wife at the church door. But to such difficulties are all human institutions exposed. The obligation of society is great, to men who like the bishop, will carry us back to first principles, and show us what is fixed by the laws of nature and religion, and what not.

London, 4 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XIX.

Expostulation with the Clergy.

Sir,—Your correspondent Clericus has the opportunity of doing good service by applying his powers of investigation to two important points.

The first is, the impolicy and indefensibleness, supposing even that the landlords paid any imaginable amount of extra taxation, of allowing them to pay it and reimburse themselves by a prohibition on the general industry of the country, which returns one shilling to the landlords by the process of taking ten from other people. Yet this is the principle defended by the Professor of Political Economy in one of our

universities, and gravely received in that House in which so much pains is taken to sieve out and restrain the apparition of popular intelligence and feeling.

The other, for which your correspondent must of necessity have the opportunity of intimate knowledge, is the way in which the effects of the Corn Laws come round in the shape of injury to the very classes who are apt in the first instance to consider them as a source of gain. To take for example his own order;—they are impressed with the belief, that because the Corn Laws raise the value of a tithe from £400 to £500 a-year, therefore they are gainers. It may appear strange to some of them, that there should be any doubt about the matter. But the question still remains, of what there is behind. To tell a man generally, that he shall receive £500 a-year instead of £400, is to announce to him a gain. But not if there is the concealed circumstance, that along with this increase of pecuniary means, there is to come a stagnation of the general industry of the country, which is to cut off his descendants and dependants from the means of getting their own living, and turn them out upon the world without other means of support than the savings which may have been made out of the life estate of the progenitor. Where is the clerk or layman, who with his eyes open, would make this kind of bargain? Yet this is the bargain offered to the clergy, and to the landowners too; though in the latter instance the estate is not confined to a life, but is handed down, such as it is, for division among the various twigs and offsets into which the family tree may spread. Hence no man can calculate on having grandchildren in the same position in society as his own; with the exception only of those favoured individuals, who have the power of causing their posterity to be kept by the public. In a country where industry is free, a man shoulders his spade or hatchet, and calculates on some of his grandchildren being *custos rotulorum*. In a country like ours, where industry is prohibited by law, the *custos rotulorum* is lucky if some of his grandchildren are not in the class that cannot dig, but to beg are not ashamed.

London, 4 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXII.

Approaching General Election.

Sir,—Under the increasing expectations of a general election, I am prompted to ask again, whether any preparations are making at Manchester for a muster of the friends of the Charter on that occasion. I can easily imagine that one reason of my never having heard anything upon the subject may be, that a desire exists for making the experiment under a new candidate. If so, no delicacy needed prevent the fact from being communicated; for, truth to say, the office of leading on such an occasion is not in itself such a bed of roses, but that a man may make himself contented when he finds himself not called on to be "first turn."

London, 4 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XX.

Ministers too late, and intended to be.

Sir,—The tendencies towards a general election, which you are pleased to notice, appear to increase daily. There is no doubt much force in your observations on the ministerial plans and proposals, if it was not in some sort balanced by the painful fact, that all these proposals and efforts come decidedly too late to be of use. They are like the reformation of the dying *bon vivant*, who was found with a strawberry in his glass of wine, by way, he said, of "cooler." Had he taken to strawberries years before, something might have come of it.

You are probably aware, that notwithstanding the glorious majority of five, it is out of all expectation that to any practical purposes Lord Morpeth's Bill can pass the Commons; to say nothing of the certainty of anything that is left of it being demolished by the quickest process in the Lords afterwards. There is always a host of members in the House of Commons who vote for the second reading of a bill, to escape, with constituents or others, the unpopularity of having voted

against it; but who do this with the most perfect understanding, that the thing will never get through committee, and that themselves, in the last resort, will be the men to hinder it. A notable instance of this was in the various Sabbath bills; where it was notorious that members rushed to vote for the second reading, but always counted on pulling to pieces in committee. Sometimes there is one marked point on which all these cautious enemies intend to fasten; and sometimes they calculate on one attacking one point and another another, till "from tail to snout the pig is eaten." In the present instance, the point which there is no chance of carrying, is known, to say nothing of minor points which may also be assaulted by the way; and that point is the *qualification*. Everybody knows, that a majority of five on the second reading, cannot carry the insertion of a five-pound qualification, when the House comes to divide in committee on that clause.

So that it is really and truly one of the operations in which the authors are too late, and know they are too late. There are many who will be ready to add, "and in which they intended to be too late." All causes are lost by this refusal to bid in time. Napoleon would not have lost Waterloo, if he could have found in his heart to make an additional declaration or two in favour of democracy, which should have sent forty thousand national volunteers into *La Vendée*, and liberated twenty thousand regular troops which could have been spared in consequence. No man would lose a game if he might play it twice. But it is of the nature of games in this world, that once lost they cannot be retrieved.

Mr. Bell therefore is mathematically correct, when he recommends that men should be using their best exertions, irrespective of party, to return such representatives as are most friendly to the repeal and alteration of oppressive laws. Our first tide is over and lost; but we must not forget that there will be another.

London, 3 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. IX.

A CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE NATION AND THE GOVERNMENT.

SIR,—You do well to be preparing a word of advice on the subject of a general election; for, paltry and inefficient as

the remedy is, it is almost the only straw within reach, and every little may be made to help. Indeed as in making a fortune the first guinea is notoriously the hardest to obtain, so in the case of any political success, the earliest struggles are the most important and at the same time the most difficult.

In fact it requires some philosophy to be able to keep the mind to the point of contemplating perseverance, when the idea presents itself of the infinitely small proportion between what can by possibility be done now, and what will be still to do. Supposing the people to have the greatest possible success at the ensuing elections,—which may be estimated at the most at a dozen of representatives of the people where the labour of ages has been bestowed in perfecting the machinery for keeping them out;—what a chasm is between this and anything like a reasonable control over the enemies of the public! We have lived to see the evidence, that one faction of the usurpers of power is just as much the people's enemy as another; just as eager to mislead the community from the consideration of the substantial interests of peace, commerce, and reform, and fix its attention upon disgraceful wars in which victory is a curse and a dishonour, and failure would be a national blessing to be hugged like the failure of the man whose career of theft is cut short by punishment and reformation after his first offence. The government has made the trial, and though it has proved that there is a crop of fools and felons ready to run after the illusion of successful crime like the followers of the Jack Sheppard it patronizes on the stage,—it has also proved the other and the dangerous fact, that beneath this upper current there is a nation, hating and despising the trumpery bait and its unprincipled profferers. The feeling is not heard of in the legislature, because the legislature is an accumulation of sieves and strainers for keeping out the knowledge of what is in the popular mind. But there is a controversy between the people and the government, widening daily through the daily acts of one portion of it after another. If a foreigner was to ask, where is the national mind, he must be told, it is among the nineteen-twentieths of the nation who are not represented, whose wishes are doomed to have no voice, whose opinions sprout and extend in secrecy, whose feelings it is the policy of the government not to know, who constitute in truth a new and distant world, waiting for the time when some shock shall inform the rest of the system of its existence.

I rejoice too that you speak out on the connexion there is between the advance of the popular cause, and getting rid of the present race of tricksters and betrayers. From the moment of the accession of the present sovereign, their course has been one continuous fraud. Let us hope that the time approaches, when they shall pass into that "contempt," which the scriptures hold out as a punishment adequate to the highest extent of human guilt.

London, 1 *March*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXI.

THE WORLD REPORTED RISING AGAINST US "EN MASSE."

SIRS,—I observe an extract in your paper, which says, "All the world is rising against us *en masse*." If this be so, what is the reason? Is it so pleasant a thing to the world to rise *en masse*, that it is done in pure levity of heart; or is not the rational inference, that it is because unprincipled rulers have placed us in a position where every man's hand is tempted to be against us, and of course our hands must be against every man like the robbers of the desert?

A pleasant position truly, for an honest, moral, and industrious nation to be placed in! But so it is, that we are led by all the worse elements of our society, to the ruin of the better. Even now, what is the inference drawn, from this reported fact that the world is rising *en masse* against us? Not the smallest intimation that we should bring our national actions within the compass of justice and honesty, but, on the contrary, a recruiting-serjeant kind of exhortation to prepare for the glories of war, and pour out our money and our blood to support the acts by which our rulers are stated to have separated us from the civilized world. And then some mobbish excitation is thrown out, by way of encouragement to rush forward with our eyes shut to do our enemies' bidding. Englishmen are going to be hanged somewhere! What if they deserve it? The suspicion and belief is, that Englishmen in the conduct of a treasonable attack upon our own rights and liberties, committed acts of piracy and murder on the American shores with circumstances of barbarity impossible to parallel; the charge is that they attacked an unarmed vessel, and sent the wounded and dying down the

Falls of Niagara. If Englishmen are fools enough to be hounded on to the support of every iniquity which dishonest rulers can propose to them, and make themselves the ready slaves of every man who is inventive enough to run them into brutal and dishonourable actions first, and tell them they are bound to maintain them afterwards,—the remedy and end can be only one, that they will be put down by the united action of the world they make their enemy. This is the lesson of history; the punishment is not immediate, but in the ancient phrase, " the mills of the gods grind slow, but grind *small.*" Four years ago, England was at the head of civilized Europe, and stood high in character for all that gives a nation real honour. Since then, how trampled on, how dragged through everything which is disgusting to men of principle and degrading to those who feel themselves unable to get rid of the name of Englishmen, the contents of every journal are enough to teach.

Lest you should have set your wishes on having something from me on a Letter I see in your paper addressed to the Chairman of the late Meeting at Leeds, I will take the risk of briefly saying in the name of the manufacturing interest, that we will answer on all those points when we have had a twenty years' bounty on foreign corn, with provision that none but a manufacturer shall sit in parliament to help to keep it.

London, 27 *Feb.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. IX.

PIGEONS' FEATHERS IN THE MINISTERIAL CUSHIONS.

SIR,—" He often took leave, *but was loth to depart,*" will occur to many as descriptive of the proceedings of the ministry. Contrast their position and present bearing, with what it might have been if they had been possessed by an active determination to uphold the interests of civil and religious liberty throughout the world. Compare the honours of such a condition, with the baseneesses of Syria and China. Imagine men cheered by the warmth of an honest consciousness of time well spent and efforts well bestowed, and compare it with the recollections of our " pipkin " ministry, which are to accompany them into private life whenever the daily dimi-

nution of their own strength and the accession to their enemies, shall cause the scale to turn.

The rural population of the Northern counties have a prejudice against admitting pigeon's feathers into the family collection, and they are invariably burnt or thrown away. The reason given is an odd one,—that nobody can *die* upon them. One might have thought this should have procured their entrance into the *materia medica;* but the conclusion come to is different. There is a state of *not dying*, which it seems is held worse than death. Surely the ministerial benches would be found stuffed with some such deleterious substitute for wool. Their tenants suffer all the pains and agonies, of the Yorkshireman that cannot die. The fatal conclusion is before them, and they cannot avert their eyes. Yet one shift after another postpones it, as their unhappy couch presents the materials of woe.

If the friends of the democracy are wise, they will make the ministerial agony the opportunity of improving their own preparations for "the melancholy event." The crape and the weepers are ready, for the worst ministry that has harassed the country since 1815; the ministry which received Europe in peace, and will hand it over in virtual war against the principles of popular right; the ministry which, poking its nose into its own little pipkin, undid in six months, all that the virtue of Europe had been consolidating in a quarter of a century; the Erosistratus of ministries, whose fame will hang upon the mischief it has done; the small and childish tribe, who had just genius enough to turn the cock and set the wine spouting on the floor, and then will have to run for butler Peel, to see if any of the mischief can be stopped.

In this state of things, might not there be hope for the ministry, if it were to prorogue parliament and send its adherents to make progresses by threes and fours throughout the country, to "solemn music" as the melodrames have it, for which the frozen-out gardeners might give a model? It is yet unknown what effects the air of "Keep out the Tories" might produce. Tyrtæus, Lillibullero, and the Marseillaise, all give historical hints in favour of the plan. Why should the ministry expire, without trying what the union of sweet sounds with sweet sense might do for it?

London, 5 March, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXI.

The "Agricultural Pie."

Sir,—I am obliged to the "Agricultural Labourer of West Suffolk" for his comparison of the "agricultural pie." The one thing assured, is that out of a pie no more can be had than is there. What I am "enamoured of," is pie; I want more pie. I believe that as strength comes by pie, so we that want Reform should have much increased our influence and our weight, if we had set about combating the enemy on the point where it is his pleasure to restrict us in pie. And for this reason,—that we should have had a host of powerful people to go along with us, and now on the contrary a great many are set against us, by the noise we have made about refusing to accept anything except the power of setting the whole bakehouse to rights as well as the agricultural pie. A great many were naturally alarmed for their own Sunday's dinner; and it might have been as well to have let these alone, and have compassed the "pie" by itself if we could.

But nothing in this world comes by taking thought, and the luck is all for knaves. So there is nothing for it but waiting for the progress of knowledge among us all; in which there is room for us all to advance daily. And no more encouraging token can be held out, than the rate at which the classes to which your correspondent assigns himself, are keeping up their portion of the chase.

Your intelligent correspondent asks me, whether any body of working manufacturers would stand five years of unexampled prosperity to their employers, without demanding increase of wages. My construction of which is, that he means that the employers of the agricultural labourers have been beyond example prosperous for the period described, and yet the labourers got no improvement of wages. On this I should be disposed to suggest, that the labourers *will* have got some increase of wages, at all events above what they would have had if their employers had not been prosperous. It may be that their wages have been stationary, where if their employers had not been prosperous they would have fallen. But the great question arising out of the whole, is always why the wages are so small. And here the answer will constantly be, that it is because the "pie" which is to be

divided is so small. The employers, the getters-up of the pie, may have had increased shares, or an increased power of picking out the nice bits and the fat, and leaving the potatoes and the crust to be divided among others. But the standing fact is, that after the employers have had their fill, there is a scrubby portion to divide, and therefore it is no wonder that scrubby portions fall to individuals.

There seems no help for this, so long as men agree to allow the employers to limit the "pie." And on the spread of knowledge on these subjects, seems to depend the possibility of our ever arriving at a state of free baking and free living for any class.

London, 4 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XX.

List of Places where the Possibility of enforcing a popular Member should be looked to.

Sir,—Some of our friends the Chartists are very bold when the question is of making a speech of which nothing comes, but they are by no means so intrepid when they are asked to face the responsibility of going against the ministers who have betrayed and dishonoured the cause of Reform. They shrink from the charge of "bringing in the Tories," which their Whiggish neighbours will bring against them. They are prepared to go on talking and doing nothing, rather than take the time for useful action, at the risk of some obloquy from their bitter enemies.

The coming opportunity will give the measure of the Chartists' intelligence and power; and if they decline to take advantage of it, there is no use in grumbling if they are nobody afterwards. All men who have some strength and want more, show themselves when they are able. In fact if the leading men among the Chartists do not suggest exertion in this line, they will strongly expose themselves to the imputation of wanting to keep things confined to spouting-clubs, in which they are to be the chief speakers and agents. Give me the men who produce themselves at an election, and move or shake one brick in the rampart of misgovernment, before all the orators who ever proved to the satisfaction of an admiring audience, that nothing will be as it ought till the whole rampart is overturned. We have had talk enough, and

little done; we want now to display the capability of doing something, if anybody has it in them.

It is possible that the Chartists might not get one member into the House of Talk by all their efforts. But they would go the way to show that they mean at some time to have a voice. And though the result named is possible, it is not certain. There is no saying but now they might make the difference between having a few mouth-pieces and having none. In the three hundred and fifty places which have been pointed out to them over and over again, in all of which their interference might more or less be felt, it is almost a contradiction to the chances by which this world in appearance is ruled, that in some or other they should not have some success.

As there is no use in referring people to gone-by documents which they will never see, the best way will be to ask you to reprint the lists of the 350 places taken from the *Weekly True Sun* of 26 May, 1839.

List I.—Constituencies sending two or more members to parliament, where the Chartists and other professing Liberals together have the predominance; and where the Chartists ought to demand to have one member of their own, as the condition of voting for the choice of the others.

England and Wales.—Brighton, Cambridge (town), Carlisle, Chester, Cockermouth, Coventry, Cumberland East, Derbyshire North, Derby (town), Devonport, Durham South, Finsbury, Halifax, Knaresborough, Lambeth, Leicester (town), Lichfield, London (4 members), Malton, Manchester, Marylebone, Newport, Northampton (town), Nottingham (town), Oldham, Peterborough, Plymouth, Poole, Portsmouth, Reading, Richmond, Rochester, Sandwich, Sheffield, Southwark, Stroud, Taunton, Tavistock, Tiverton, Totnes, Tower Hamlets, Westminster, Windsor, Wolverhampton, Wycombe, Yarmouth, Yorkshire West.

Scotland.—Edinburgh, Glasgow.

Ireland.—Belfast, Carlow (county), Clare, Cork (county), Cork (city), Dublin (county), Dublin (city), Galway (county), Galway (town), Kerry, Kildare, Kilkenny (county), King's County, Leitrim, Limerick (county), Limerick (city), Longford, Louth, Mayo, Meath, Roscommon, Tipperary, Waterford county), Waterford (city), Westmeath, Wexford (county), Wicklow.

List II.—Constituencies sending two or more members to parliament, and at present in a fluctuating or contested state; where the Chartists should examine whether the represen-

tation could not by union be divided between themselves and the other professing Liberals.

England and Wales.—Andover, Aylesbury, Barnstaple, Bath, Bedfordshire, Bedford (town), Berkshire (3 members), Berwick, Beverley, Blackburn, Bodmin, Bolton, Boston, Bradford, Bridgenorth, Bridgewater, Brighton, Bristol, Bucks (county), Buckingham (town), Bury St. Edmund's, Cambridgeshire, Canterbury, Carmarthenshire, Cheshire North, Cheshire South, Chichester, Colchester, Cornwall East, Cornwall West, Cumberland West, Cricklade, Denbighshire, Derbyshire South, Devizes, Devonshire North, Devonshire South, Dorsetshire (3 members), Dover, Durham North, Durham (city), Essex South, Exeter, Glamorganshire, Gloucestershire East, Gloucestershire West, Gloucester (city), Grantham, Greenwich, Guildford, Hampshire North, Hampshire South, Harwich, Hastings, Herefordshire (3 members), Hereford (city), Hertfordshire (3 members), Hertford (town), Honiton, Hull, Huntingdonshire, Ipswich, Kent East, Kent West, Lancashire South, Lancaster (town), Leeds, Leicestershire North, Leominster, Lewes, Lincolnshire (Lindsey), Lincolnshire (Kesteven), Lincoln (city), Liverpool, Ludlow, Lymington, Lynn, Macclesfield, Maidstone, Maldon, Marlow, Middlesex, Monmouthshire, Newark, Newcastle-under-Line, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norfolk East, Norfolk West, Northamptonshire North, Northumberland North, Northumberland South, Norwich, Nottinghamshire North, Nottinghamshire South, Oxfordshire (3 members), Oxford (city), Penryn, Pontefract, Preston, Retford, Ripon, St. Alban's, Salisbury, Scarborough, Shoreham, Shrewsbury, Somersetshire East, Somersetshire West, Southampton, Staffordshire North, Staffordshire South, Stafford (town), Stamford, Stockport, Stoke-upon-Trent, Sudbury, Suffolk East, Suffolk West, Sunderland, Surrey East, Surrey West, Sussex East, Sussex West, Tewkesbury, Thetford, Truro, Warwickshire North, Warwickshire South, Warwick (town), Wells, Wenlock, Weymouth, Wigan, Wiltshire North, Wiltshire South, Winchester, Worcestershire East, Worcestershire West, Worcester (city), Yorkshire North, Yorkshire East, York (city).

Scotland.—The only places in Scotland which send more than one member, are in List I.

Ireland.—Antrim, Armagh (county), Monaghan, Queen's County.

List III.—Places sending one member to parliament, where the Chartists ought to examine whether they might not gain a point of advantage by enforcing on the other professing

Liberals the necessity of supporting a candidate of more decided principles than before.

ENGLAND AND WALES.—Arundel, Ashburton, Ashton, Banbury, Beaumaris, Bewdley, Breconshire, Brecon (town,) Bury, Calne, Cardigan (town), Carmarthen (town), Carnarvon (town), Chatham, Cheltenham, Clitheroe, Dartmouth, Denbigh (town), Droitwich, Dudley, Evesham, Flintshire, Flint (town), Frome, Gateshead, Grimsby, Haverfordwest, Helston, Horsham, Huddersfield, Hythe, Kendal, Kidderminster, Launceston, Liskeard, Lyne, Malmesbury, Merthyr-Tydvil, Midhurst, Monmouth, Montgomery (town), Morpeth, Northallerton, Petersfield, Radnorshire, Rochdale, Rye, Salford, Shaftesbury, South Shields, Swansea, Thirsk, Tynemouth, Wakefield, Wallingford, Walsall, Wareham, Warrington, Westbury, Whitby, Wight (Isle of), Woodstock.

SCOTLAND.—Aberdeenshire, Aberdeen (city), Argyllshire, Ayrshire, Ayr burghs, Banffshire, Berwickshire, Caithnessshire, Clackmannan and Kinross, Dumbartonshire, Dumfries, Dundee, Edinburghshire, Elgin burghs, Falkirk, Fifeshire, Forfarshire, Greenock, Haddingtonshire, Haddington burghs, Inverness-shire, Inverness (town), Kilmarnock, Kirkaldy, Kirkcudbrightshire, Lanarkshire, Leith, Linlithgowshire, Montrose, Orkney, Paisley, Peebles-shire, Perthshire, Perth (city), Renfrewshire, Ross and Cromarty, Roxburghshire, St. Andrew's, Selkirkshire, Stirlingshire, Stirling burghs, Sutherlandshire, Wick burghs, Wigtonshire, Wigton burghs.

IRELAND.—Armagh (city), Athlone, Carlow (town), Carrickfergus, Cashel, Clonmel, Coleraine, Downpatrick, Drogheda, Dundalk, Dungarvan, Ennis, Kilkenny (town), Kinsale, Mallow, Newry, Ross, Sligo (town), Tralee, Wexford (town), Youghall.

London, 3 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XV.

OUR ANCESTORS' CLOCK.

SIR,—Your article on "The Day of Reckoning" is a powerful illustration of the perversity apparent in the construction of the contrivances for the manufacture of our laws. On looking at them, everything seems formed for producing an effect contrary to what would be desired by reasonable men. But there is one excuse which ought to be urged. These rules were not the invention of any set of men sitting down

to consider either what was reasonable or what was not; but they were the fortuitous congregation of ages, each probably doing a little good and more harm, but none of them capable of soaring to the composition of a system which should be all intended wrong.

It was truly boasted by one of the admirers of our patch-work constitution, that it "was not struck out at a heat;" which is sure enough, nor at twenty. It was such a machine as would be made by successive generations of clock-makers, where each should add a wheel, a pivot, or a weight, not from any view of a general end to be attained, such as telling what's o'clock, but from some local and temporary interest, such as one man's having lead to dispose of, whereupon he makes a weight, and another wire, whereupon he sets himself to multiply pivots or anything else by which the consumption of his particular ware might be promoted.

In the same way, no set of men could ever have been got together, who would say, let us make a constitution which shall be dragged on by this interest here, and pinned to the ground by that other there;—where the government for the time being shall have such and such advantages for the depression of the popular voice, and such and such tricks and pranks to play off before it shall be reached by any interference with its own misconduct. On the contrary, this machine, like the other, could only grow out of temporary interests, acting upon the gullibility of somebody who was to pay.

But if any man had such a clock, would he call it a "time-honoured" clock, or would he proceed at the earliest opportunity to exchange it though it were for the plainest that could be found in the hands of any itinerant clock-maker of modern times? No modern mistakes, could equal the accumulation of the old. Cuckoo and alarum might neither of them be the best, and the moon might show her rosy face exactly when there was none upon the sky; but it is impossible that the vulgar service of telling the hours for setting down to roast and taking up, should not be better performed than by the complex assemblage of the follies and meannesses of our forefathers.

Time may have been, when such awkward specimens of incompetence were honoured. But too many "clock-makers" have been abroad. A spirit of keen insight into the connexion between means and ends, has gone too far for either clocks or constitutions to pass for more than their sterling worth.

London, 9 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XI.

The Sort of Elections a Minister wants.

Sir,—When statesmen protest, as they are continually doing, against political agitation, is not the real fact, that they are protesting against the circulation of the blood and the motion of the lungs, in what may be styled "the body politic?" Let examination be made, whether what we want is not the equalizing and uniform extension of the functions, instead of either stopping them altogether, or limiting their action to chance moments few and far between. There are races of animals, of the kind where fish and flesh conjoin, to whom it is sufficient to respire at large intervals, and let off the imprisoned breath with a snort like a steam-engine. But we are not political whales; our comfort requires us to do by continual movements, what the leviathan does once in a way and disappears. It suits our constitution, for the wholesome stirring to be incessant; and our enemies,—precisely because they are our enemies,—find it suits them not.

Let any man ask himself, what is the rational effect of the flurry of a seven years' election or for any other extended term, compared with the use of the same agitation being divided over the whole time, as is the case with the human respiration compared with that of grampuses. What we need, is that which shall keep alive attention to the connexion between public proceedings and private happiness; that which shall excite the glow in every part of the country by turns, and give perpetual opportunities for vivid discussions on the subjects of the day, communicated through the press to the remotest corners of the land. What a minister wants, is directly the contrary. He wants a parliament elected with the least possible sum of agitation, and the least possible bearing upon passing questions; which is precisely what will be accomplished by electing it in all places on the same day. He wants one which shall lie under the greatest possible temptation to be careless of professions made upon the hustings, and independent of operative control from the electors: and this is what will be secured by electing with the prospect of a long term of years. He wants one over which he shall be able to hold the rod, and keep a portion at least in check by the dread of losing what they have paid

heavily to obtain; and this is what will be effected by giving him at the same time a long term, and the power of dissolution at pleasure. What possible sense or reason can there be, in giving a minister the power to make members of parliament vote for him, on peril of losing, for instance, the £8000 which is alluded to as the cost of an election in your paper? It may be urged, that this all tends to multiply elections. But it would be possible to do that, without giving the minister a power of coercion over men's purses to affect their votes.

There was prodigious horror some fifty years ago, at the threatened apparition of what was called "The Age of Reason." Heaven help us, if anything like an *Age of Reason* should break out upon us now!

London, 11 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LIII.

The "Patters on the Back."

Sir,—There was something worse than producing "nothing," which was the consequence of the system known by the phrase of "patting on the back." From the moment it was entered on, it was understood as an assurance that there were no limits to what would be allowed and winked at by the "patters." The case was one of unwilling agents, anxious to seize on any opportunity for sitting still or worse; and what was wanted, was a tight hand and rigid discipline, accompanied by a visible intent of hostility the moment any breach of compact, or culpable desertion, should take place. The "patting on the back" was the signal to the schoolboys that there was to be no more school. And from that moment they sallied forth, to do all the puerile mischief for which we and our posterity shall have to pay. When they undertook to amuse themselves with murders in Egypt, with no more of national interest or reasonable excuse than when a race of urchins proceed to pelt a good-wife's ducklings for the pleasure of watching the splash, it was all because they had been "patted on the back." If a rod in pickle had been displayed before their mortal eyes instead, the consequences would have been vastly more salutary. When they court a war with America, to prevent the course of justice and stop a charge of brutal

murder from being inquired into by an American jury, it is all because they have been "patted on the back;" had they been "whipt on the bottom," it had been much more for their souls' health, and the safety of us all. It is quite clear we are to be pushed into a war; north, south, east, or west, will make no difference, so it is a good substantial war against something savouring of independence, and with all the chances of propagating little wars, which Holy Alliance connexion can supply. The bird that laid the egg, never thought of being followed to the water by such a train. But the folly was not less; nor ours the less for bearing it.

How commercial men ever store up and keep a sixpence, is to me a mystery. For they seem quite willing to hold all they have, at the beck of any that shall be pleased to take it from them. For instance, when the ministers have boiled their little pipkin till they think it will boil over, they will announce to the commercial and manufacturing interests that they have seen fit to stop their trade by getting up a war. And the manufacturing and commercial interests will avow their grateful readiness to pay for any war the ministers may have chosen to get up. Two or three will probably get knighted on the occasion; and the rest will go home, covered with their portion of the glory.

Whether it would not be wiser, more manly, and more creditable, to look into the matter before the steed is stolen, is what I am afraid has occurred to few, and will not occur to more, in time to keep the evil from the door.

London, 11 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XX.

" Rights of Consumers."—Colbert's Mistake and the Irish.

Sir,—You notice in a late number, that Sir Robert Peel, in his place in parliament, has declared for "the rights of consumers." It is past comprehension, how this secret should so long have slept. The only explanation must be, that the monopolizers have been so much wider awake, and have had so much more of union, than those whom they were to rob. Adam Smith declared sixty years ago, that a meeting of traders never got together, without resolving themselves into

a conspiracy against the public. And while the public was dull enough to allow it, there is little wonder that they should.

The strange thing about the matter is always, that it should have been so long and so quietly taken for granted, that all that was got by robbery was public gain;—that it was gained by the robbers, and lost by nobody. All the childish schemes for a perpetual motion seem to have fallen short of this. Public wealth was to be made, by one man taking from another. Profits make wealth; therefore double profits will make double wealth. Such was the argument of our forefathers; nothing considering, that the wealth was in the things made, to which the profits were only the means, and that to double the profits at the expense of taking them out of the pockets of somebody else without necessity, was only robbing Peter to pay Paul, by which no one ever proved the wealth of the whole brotherhood to be increased.

The only people who have shown sense on this particular point, are understood to be the Turks. A Turkish statesman scouts the idea of not allowing anybody to bring cheap goods into the country that will; for, says he, is not it for the good of the consumers? But then, as if to secure the inability of any man to boast, it has been predestined that the Turk should fall into a blunder which makes a balance, on the subject of exports; for, says he, we must not let good things go out of the country. This is only the mistake of Colbert; and of the Irish to the present day. They call out for keeping their pork at home; unwisely believing that they should eat it. Whereas, as Colbert proved to his sorrow with corn, the only result would be that it would not be grown. Pigs are raised, because pigs can be sold with a profit; if in Ireland or not in Ireland, makes no difference to the raiser. But stop his profit by cutting off his market if it be a foreign one, and all the patriotism in Ireland will not raise a pig on such a prospect.

It is because political power has been in the hands of men who had neither modesty nor scruple in the use of it, and who would unblushingly go the length of legislating to "put money in their purse," and keeping all but their own class from admission to the legislature,—that we have got to such a pitch of irrationality as the present times witness. And as the source of the evil has been, so it is pretty evident that the converse must be the remedy. We must have dispersion of political influence.

London, 11 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXIII.

Eagerness of Ministers to get to War.

Sir,—If there were any vigour in the commercial and manufacturing classes of the community, they would apply themselves to notice the palpable steps by which the ministry is drawing them into a war here and there and everywhere, as the means of burying uneasy contests on commercial and other reforms. "Three to one on *St. Jean d'Acre* against *Free Trade*," would be an easy bet with those who know the owners of the horses and the colours of the riders. The ministers have treasured among their school-boy reminiscences the Roman recipe for popular demands, "*Bello civiles discordiæ intermissæ*;" and they are ruthlessly acting upon it, without an attempt to stay them from any quarter. When they attacked the ally of England at the pleasure of the Holy Alliance in Egypt, they knew that this would break up the amicable connexion with France; and therefore they did it. When they broke up the amicable connexion with France, they knew that this would give strength to any hostile elements existing in America; and therefore they did it. To get to war with anybody, was the end and substance of the ministerial "house that Jack built." And all the while, the country is as devoid of information on what is and is to be, as ever France was under the mistress of the *Grand Monarque*. It is as far removed from anything like national control, or bringing the public reason to bear on any question while judgment is of use. Certain men are ministers by virtue of court favour, as certain women were in the other case; and the country is bound to creep under their legs, and receive with gladness whatever baseness, whatever cruelty, whatever infamizing of the national character, the boilers of the little pipkin may be pleased to announce as "facts accomplished." As the "*sapeur*" is continually saying to the conscript in the French farce, "*Jean, paye*" is to be our happy lot and portion in the matter. And to this we are making up our minds with the submission of anchorites; the commercial and manufacturing interests busying themselves all the while, with nothing but whether one groggy old gentleman or another shall be sent to press ministers for some halfpenny relief in the duties they think they are concerned in.

Is it or is it not time that somebody else should open their eyes and take charge of the interests of commerce and peace? And is there anybody so likely to do it, as the men of fresh blood and uncorrupted nerves, who would be let in upon your sleepy mill-lords by an extension of the suffrage?

London, 11 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXI.

LETTER OF MR. BARBER ON THE WORKING CLASSES.

SIR,—If I am not tired of discussions on labour and machinery, it certainly is not for want of having had enough of them, nor is it by reason of any very apparent success in making proselytes upon the subject. Still, however, it may be assumed, that as much as is true, will stick; which is as much as any man ought either to claim or to desire.

On examining the letter of Mr. Barber in your paper of the 5th of March, the first point on which we break into a difference, is when he appears desirous of building some substantial conclusion on the opinion that "the working classes would be happier if they were employed in cultivating the soil, and making their own clothing with the rude sort of machinery used by their forefathers." We are not born to do what we like, but what we can. And if the question is where the working classes would be happiest, it may as well be proposed to go back to the garden of Eden at once, if nothing is to be done to show the practicability of getting there, and no notice taken of the fact, that the same circumstances which caused our progenitors not to stay there when they were there, would be found invincibly opposed to our chances of return.

The reason why the working classes did not continue tillers of the land and makers of bad brogues and worse breeches, was evidently because circumstances took such a turn, as made it for their individual advantage to change from time to time and bit by bit, from the old state of things towards the present. And one of the circumstances which turned was, that men began to multiply beyond what the old methods would support. And the sign and symptom of their doing this was, that new methods would support them better; and the proof of this again was, that they or somebody, took to

the new methods in preference to the old, which was evidence that on the whole they thought themselves the better for it.

If the working classes were at this moment to start with one consent for their former estate and mode of life, the first thing they must provide for, must be to make away with a half or a third of their present numbers; and "Marcus" himself would be nothing to that.

But this, it will be said, falls back upon the question, whether "the soil of this country is properly cultivated." All I can say upon the assertion brought against me, that "individuals as well acquainted with agriculture as myself, say that this country, if properly cultivated, would maintain a hundred millions of inhabitants," is, that if these individuals were really acquainted with agriculture, it is a thousand pities they did not proceed to do the great good to the community, and make the great fortunes for themselves, which would have been the consequence of reducing their knowledge to practice in their own behoof. That there were millions of acres out of cultivation, they probably knew as well as anybody else; but they also knew another thing, which they seem to have kept to themselves, that these were acres not of quality enough to return what was put into them.

Show me the landlord who does not let his acres if anybody will bid for them. And show me the place where farmers are not bidding against one another for land, to the extremity of what will make both ends meet, and a good way into what will not. But if some men have a secret unknown to the farmers, why do they not take advantage of it to make their fortunes at once?

There seems nothing wrong in telling the working classes, that if they are thrown out of employment by machinery, they must accommodate themselves to some other kind of employment if they can. But I do not recollect insisting upon this so much as on the fact, that they are much disposed to over-rate the mischief done them in this way by machinery, and to under-rate the different ways in which the mischief is reduced, and compensation, at least to some extent, effected. And to this, I believe, I tried to add, the strong evidence of experience, that machinery never has been hindered and never will, and that the wisdom of the working classes is, (not to insist on going back to states as unattainable as Paradise), but to see to keeping open the outlets to the disposal of what the machinery shall produce.

London, 10 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle. .

No. X.

Reconcilement of the Enfranchised and Unenfranchised.

Sir,—You are right in saying that the powers that be, are "playing admirably into the hands of Chartism." They seem engaged in a plot, and there is no staying them. And the tendency of their plot is, to effect the same separation between the higher and the popular classes, as led to the French Revolution. All their movements appear directed to persuading the people at large, that what they hear of under the name of religion, morality, and law, is a thing for the poor and not for the rich and great, and that these last are in one way or other free from restraint, when it is their wish or interest to be so. The consequence of this will be, not that the numerous classes will quit their morality or their religion, but that they will look upon the ruling classes as discovered hypocrites, whose professions of any virtue have been put on to deceive.

I had written this before noticing how powerfully the subject had been illustrated in the letter of your "Correspondent" in your paper of the 25th February, who makes no other sign by which he can be recognized. The people only want knowledge, to bring union, and then in one way or other to mend the state of things. No country can be long governed by a class which the rest of the community have ceased to respect. A large proportion of the sands are already run out in this country, if something is not done to raise the character of those who wish to retain their rank.

On "reconciling the enfranchised and unenfranchised classes," the prospect of union will directly depend. And to this, knowledge everywhere is the guide. There is a principle at work, like those which in other matters produce a general acquiescence in common reason, which points to the fact, that enfranchise as many as you will, there will be an interest in effective quarters for endeavouring to procure the enfranchisement of more. Two or three hundred drunken voters in one of the glorious fountains of legislation which still constitute British boroughs may feel a class interest in keeping others out. But not so an extended constituency, anxious only for the repression of bad laws, and the welfare of the community. Such men will always feel, that every extension of the popular basis, is hostile to their enemies, and

by consequence favourable to themselves. And on the other hand the unenfranchised have to learn, that by exhibiting themselves as the supporters of all which enlightened inquiry has discovered to be wise and good, they will best hasten the period of their absorption into the enfranchised class. They will not get it by themselves, because they are avowedly the weak and trampled-on; and the other classes will not obtain their ends without their assistance either. So that it does not seem difficult to conclude, that on the whole there is an open door, when all parties can find and take it.

London, 9 *March*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXII.

THE LAW OF MARRIAGE.—REASONS FOR PROHIBITIONS ON MARRIAGE.

SIRS,—I am glad to see you taking up the subject of the Law of Marriage; because it is a curious specimen of the hostility of our laws and law-makers to reason and to principle.

The single justifiable object of restraint on marriages of any kind, is to check the intercourse which might otherwise take place among parties of tender years in consequence of the opportunities held out by their domestic position, or between seniors and juniors while the latter are not of age to know the importance of sexual purity. And as the effectual means of doing this, law and custom in all nations, with slight variations, have impressed the useful horror of such connexions, by not only attaching it to the irregular and accidental act, but by totally prohibiting, under an equal penalty of disgrace and infamy, the attempt to contract marriage between such parties.

This reason is evidently good, why marriage should be impossible between the nearest blood relations, either of the same or of different degrees. The most remarkable illustration of the principle, is to be found in that regulation in polygamic countries, whereby the half-brothers and half-sisters by the same father, are allowed to marry, but by the same mother not. (See Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix.*). The explanation of which is, that inasmuch as in polygamic countries each wife has a separate house, the children of the same mother live together from their infancy; but the children of the same

father and different mothers, not. This is not introduced to inquire into the merits of the polygamic law, but because it is a strong illustration of the principle which mankind feels to be at work.

Now in the case of a wife's sister, this principle is not at work at all. The parties are not brought together during tender age, nor has one of them the sort of tutelage over the other, which might be abused to purposes of corruption. The man who is not to be trusted with his wife's sister unless under the prohibition of any future marriage, will not be to be trusted with fifty other women with whom there can be no prohibition of future marriage at all.

But the strongest point of all, is that on bringing the question to the test of utility, which in the end decides everything, the one thing conducive to the increase of human happiness and the reduction of human misery, is that such marriages should not only be allowed but encouraged. In the numerous cases where young children must be deprived of a mother's care by death, the sister of the mother is probably the only woman in the world who is prepared to receive the orphans with affection, or even without dislike. It is more than likely, that she is all of mother they have left, and the woman of all others whom a lawgiver desirous of human happiness would encourage the widower to take. The Mosaic law ordered it in the analogous case, where there were no children to be served, but merely a property convenience; it even enforced it under penalty of disgrace (Deut. xxv. 9); and the Mosaic law is readily appealed to by our lawgivers, whenever it is to our hurt. And it is but a short time ago, that our legislators were actually engaged upon a law (*See Parliamentary Proceedings of 29th June* 1837,) for permitting Jews to obey the Mosaic law by marrying their brothers' widows; thus clearly recognizing the abstract propriety of the practice, and the fact of its being positively commanded by the Mosaic law.

You are taking the right course, and doing service in a general way besides, by holding up to view the perversity and ignorance by which in this instance, unhappily not solitary, our legislation is directed.

London, 8 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. X.

APPROACH OF AN ARISTOCRATIC WAR.

SIR,—The plot thickens fast, and we are likely to have an example of the way in which crime tends to its final punishment, in national as well as individual criminals. Indeed this regulation of Providence, imperfect and tardy as it may appear to be, is what makes the salt of the earth, and keeps it from the utter putrefaction which would otherwise overtake it.

When a ministry chose to overturn the law and constitution in Canada, and imbrue its hands in the blood of their honourable defenders, it was thought high sport by the debased mass of the people of England, ready to follow to any felony which should give opportunity for the exercise of the mean and dastardly passions which slaves are taught to confound with nationality. Little did the same slaves or their directors dream, that the affair so soon would have a tail. It pleased the brutal breakers of the law in Canada, to carry their crimes to the American side of the water which divides free men from slaves; and now one of the suspected agents finds himself in the hands of the law, in a country where the law is supreme. The English ministry have stooped to the disgraceful plea, that if there was murder, they adopted it after the fact. Fancy an agent of Don Carlos committing a murder at Greenwich, and then the justification being advanced, that Don Carlos had approved and adopted it afterwards. It is a heavy misfortune to have been born in a nation so dishonoured; but this is one of the things which is *par excellence* irremediable.

The question then of this foul murder, or at all events of whether there was a foul murder or not and this was the criminal, has got into the hands of a jury of the descendants of Englishmen, from whom we look for the justice we cannot secure at home. It is on this basis that the occult science of the ministers is attempting to nurse a war. The Americans have already answered by a Report showing not the least disposition to blink the facts, and pointing strongly to the circumstances all over the world, by which the grasping ambition and injustice of British rulers have made the unfortunate country they bestride, the mark for the ill-will of

mankind. What is to come next, is in that "little pipkin," the image and successor of Pandora's box,—with the exception that there is no hope at the bottom,—from which we must be content to take such fare as may be provided for us, and huzza for our masters.

In one sense the ministers will do good service, if they will get into a war. There will then be a re-hearing of this case and many others, and the grand jury of the world will give its decision on the merits. The Americans, for instance, naturally hang back now from what might accelerate so great an evil; but let the evil once be inevitable, and then we shall hear the truth.

The ministers, the while, have no more feeling of importance in the question, than whether a dandy regiment shall be breeched in brimstone or sky-blue. There is an enormous mass of military and naval force, paid for out of the hard earnings of every working man in the country, and whether it shall be employed for good or evil, for the benefit of the payers or for their harm, is not one whit more under popular or any rational control, than when such things were settled in France by the mistress of the *Grand Monarque*.

Sir Robert Peel says, that he too would stand up for the honour of the country. So, I suppose, would you and I; but not for the *dishonour*. It is a simple variation of opinion on this point, which makes all the difference.

London, 12 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXII.

THE "AGRICULTURAL LABOURER OF WEST SUFFOLK."

SIR,—I have no means of inducing the "Agricultural Labourer of West Suffolk" or any one else to trust me, except doing the best I can towards coming at the truth. And as there will always be great diversity and contrariety of opinions, of course there must always be a number in one place or another, who will be on the other side. I know the way to please a man, is to tell him he is right and everybody else is wrong. But as everybody cannot be right, there seems to be no resource but trying to get at the truth, whether pleasing or not.

The "Agricultural Labourer" thinks it "preposterous and

unfeeling," that I should have told him that nobody ever has put down machinery, nor ever will. If I had advised him to spend his strength in calling for a tax on machinery, knowing and believing all the time that there was no more chance of his ever seeing his end compassed than if he had proposed to open a railroad communication with the moon, he would have considered me as a kind friend, and not have threatened to "lay me upon the shelf." Such is the way of men, but really not of wise men. He should at least have thanked me, for putting out honestly what I believed, and giving him thereby the opportunity of answering it.

Lest it should be inferred from the expressions of your correspondent, that I had actually evinced any insensibility to the sufferings of the working classes, or any lack of desire to be assistant in diminishing them, I will quote the passages which I imagine were in his eye. I said, "The working classes will answer, that these are the reasonings of men who do not personally suffer from the facts. To which the reply must be, that the sense of personal suffering does not necessarily secure a man being the best judge of the origin of his complaint, or of the possibility of curing it without incurring greater ills. The man who neither feels the pain, nor has any interest in its continuance, is very generally the better arbiter." I can do nothing with this, but submit to the general sense of the readers, whether it is true or not. The fact is, the "Agricultural Labourer" knows he is ill, and he will hear of no remedy but his own. He has got an ague, and he says he knows what will cure agues is to swallow spiders; and if any man will advise him to swallow spiders, he shall be a great doctor, but if not, he shall be voted "preposterous and unfeeling," and be "laid upon the shelf." There is nothing in all this that is uncommon, and nothing to make a complaint about; but enough to show, that because a sufferer has one notion of what would cure his ills, is no reason why somebody else should not have a different one, and with an equal chance of being right.

Had the deputation of day-labourers going to the farmers of Suffolk to complain of small wages, met me on the road, and set me up in a tree and insisted on my giving them a discourse on the *origin* of their evils, as an unhappy clergyman was once obliged to preach a sermon upon MALT,—the odds are that I should have said something like what follows: provided always there was no compact that I was to say what should be agreeable and nothing else. "You have been foolish enough to help in shutting up the country on a given quantity

of corn; and though you or your fathers before you have contrived to multiply your numbers to double what existed in the times when you believe every man in England had beef and venison and strong ale for asking for, you cannot find out that you must bid against one another for what will keep soul and body together, or something less; and here am I in a tree-top, and likely to be pelted before I get down again, if I do not prophesy to you smooth things, and tell you all kinds of palaver and untruths, because you will like to hear them. Depend on it the farmers will not pay more than they can help; and if I stay here till doomsday, I can give you no other reason which I believe myself, why they are able to persevere in paying you so little."

How far this would be satisfactory, I should be sorry to try. But as we are not come to the tree yet, there is the less inducement to disguise what is believed to be the truth.

London, 11 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XXI.

Legislating for "Interests."

Sir,—I am glad to see a meeting in Glasgow protesting against the plan of legislating for "interests." Somebody will perhaps start up and say, "What, not legislate for interests? For what, then, *would* you legislate?" This may look like reason; but hear the explanation.

"Interests" always mean dishonest interests. The question is always of giving one man a slice of an iniquitous job here, to be paid for out of the pockets of the public, and another another slice there, to be equally paid for from the same source, and then convincing these two men that it is their policy to join in supporting each other's dishonesties. In this way the public is parcelled out, like the ox in the cookery-book. It is partially, as if a legislative arrangement were made for giving the right of robbing on some particular piece of road to one man, and on another to another, and these were called the "interests," and told to stand by one another. I have said "partially," because in one direction there is a weighty difference. If the right of road as above described could be fairly divided among all, everybody would rob

everybody, and nobody on the whole be better or worse. But not so with the "interests" in question. There, the amount taken from the public is not gained by the highwayman; but in all cases double, and in some cases ten or a hundredfold, is taken from the public, for one that reaches the robber interest in the shape of gain. The plan therefore is one for making ducks-and-drakes of the public means, to the greatest extent that anybody will join in for a fraction of the plunder. This is the simple and literal meaning of legislating for the "interests," whenever the word occurs.

That heaven may at some time enable us to obtain a legislature which shall legislate for "the interest" and not for "the interests" of the country, should be the prayer of all who take the word Reform into their mouths.

London, 11 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XXIII.

REPLY TO "A REFORMER OF THE PEOPLE."—ATTACK THE SOFTEST PLACE FIRST.—NO GETTING BY WORK OR WAGES, WHAT IS NOT THERE TO BE HAD.

SIR,—The accidental non-arrival of a copy of your paper, prevented the earlier notice of the letter of "A Reformer of the People," in your number for 27 February, which would otherwise in courtesy have been due.

In excuse for having given what your correspondent appears to consider an exaggerated portion of attention to the question of the Corn Laws, I must be allowed to plead, that at the time of engaging in it, the subject was comparatively fresh. There is no doubt that the foundations of the argument were to be found in many places; for they must of necessity have existed ever since the world began. And the question had been distinctly handled by eminent writers since Adam Smith; among others, by one whose memory must live at Bolton as a distinguished representative of the town in parliament. But at the time the writer of this endeavoured to force the question on popular notice, grave men looked at him with dubious eyes, as implying uncertainty of the sanity of the individual who could seriously take up the theory, that to raise the price of food by diminishing the quantity, was not the road to national wealth. The question had been mooted once, and settled by the interference of the Life Guards and the Blues;

after whose scientific determination, it was held to be one to be moved no more.

To a considerable degree therefore, it was of the nature of a new question; and all the others were very old. It might be possible to say something on them where it had not been said before; but to say anything which had not been in most places trumpeted on the house-tops, was next to an impossibility.

But there was another reason for not being equally anxious to go "five other ways at once;" which was no other than what induces a rabbit to bore in the one direction he thinks softest, instead of carrying on six parallel and equal saps at one time. I must acknowledge to a strong conviction, not altered by the refusal of the boring classes to make the trial, that there were facilities, which a wise buck-rabbit would not have overlooked. I believe that nothing but the refusal of the working classes to move upon the point,—induced no doubt by a wholesome dread of the revolution they were told would be the consequence,—prevented the Corn Laws from being by this time removed or in the act of going off the scene, and the working classes from being exposed to all those political dangers which arise to the oppressed, when a weighty alteration is made in the relative strength of the opposing parties. I never said "Get something to eat, and you will have nothing else to do for this world or for the next;" but I said, "Get rid, when other people are disposed to help you, of the stamp and seal of your slavery, by which you are made to keep your oppressors in wealth out of your bones and sinews; and see whether you will not be the stronger for any political reforms you may be inclined to afterwards."

Your correspondent intimates, that political ends might be most speedily carried without stating them. So they might, if there existed any of that system, call it confidence or discipline, which moves an army; but inasmuch as directly the contrary is the fact, the plan seems to a great extent to fall to the ground. There is no use in courting opposition, as the Chartists do when they say they will accept of nothing but the power to drag out all the beard at a pull; but short of this, it is very difficult to get anybody to unite in a given course, even after all explanations, and still less without.

The opinion of your correspondent that "there is no scarcity of food in England or Ireland, but there is a scarcity of work and wages, wherewith to purchase the food," I fear may be likened to the same assertion made in the case of a

besieged town, or one where the gates were voluntarily closed with the patriotic object of raising the price of corn. Of the corn that should be grown on the house-tops or in boxes at the windows, there would always be a further quantity which would be grown if men would give an increased price for it. Whereon your correspondent would say, the want was in the work or in the wages. It was some defect of management on these points, which did not give men as much abundance off flag-stones as out of a ploughed field. For it is clear there is some work and some wages, which if men had them, would enable them to pay for raising corn on flag-stones; what more plain therefore than that if it is not done, it is for want of taking measures to secure this work and wages? Whether after all, there is not excuse for thinking, that the wages and the hours worked for them, will have some connexion with the quantity of corn to be divided, is what must be left, as heretofore, to the judgment of the public.

In despite of your correspondent's barring the plea of impossibility, there are few tougher, when once effectually set up. The fact is after all, that it is as impossible that after the gates of the besieged town are opened, wages should be reduced till men starved as before,—as it was that they should rise when the gates were shut, till they gave every man as much out of no corn as out of an abundance. The impossibilities are precisely the counterparts of one another.

When your correspondent intimates that I stopped at Corn Laws, "while the prospect beyond was to me that of an unexplored desert;" I think if it was permitted to set aside the awkwardness of a man's speaking of himself, I could point out several directions in which a look into the desert was at all events attempted. The having endeavoured to generalize the principle of Free Trade, by showing that in *all* cases where anything is bought at the dearer price instead of the cheaper, the difference of price is lost twice over and by two people, for once that anybody gains it,—your correspondent will perhaps think might be included under Corn Laws. I had endeavoured to show, too, that the same principle is at work on the subject of Machinery, and in fact makes the reason why machinery never was and never will be put down, there being always two to gain for one to lose, and also why the ultimate loss to the working classes by machinery is no more the sum of the apparent losses, than the buckets of water taken up on one side of a pond and poured in at the other, are the loss to the pond. On the question of Suffrage,

I had endeavoured to establish the analogy to the case of a market, where the rich have all they can demand when they have the advantages their superior wealth affords them, but without any pretence for saying that they must have the poor kept out besides. I had tried to put forward too, what may by some possibility or other come to use, the principle that Universal Suffrage does not involve the actual necessity for everybody voting, but would be equally operative if it were possible to secure a fair extract who should vote as it might be called "by sample;" one advantage of which would be, that it would do away with the pretext for refusing votes to women, on the ground of the necessity for reducing the number of voters by cutting away half the human race at a sweep. I further take comfort to myself in my reflective hours, for having as far as in me lay, endeavoured to substantiate that there is no real hostility between the honest, which are the true, interests of the different classes of society; and that there is a principle at work, by which there will be a constant tendency for political power to work its way downwards towards the weaker classes, in consequence of the perpetual temptation some of the others will lie under, to increase their particular strength by the introduction of new associates. On questions of Religious Liberty, I had been as outspoken as anybody. On Currency, Banking, Poor Laws, Tithes, National Debt and the folly of either buying it up or thinking to recover it by refusing to pay the interest, Colonies, Absenteeism, Slavery, Ballot, Greatest-Happiness Principle in Morals Law and Politics, A Constitution what it is, Adjustment of the House of Peers, Propriety of a Foreign Monarch having succession or authority within this realm, Representative System, Taxation, Permanent sitting of Parliament, Causes of Public Distress, I had attempted at all events to take a side. And besides these, there is hardly a question of the kind that come ordinarily before the House of Commons, on which I had not endeavoured in one direction or the other to work an oar. So that on the whole I might make a stout defence, if supposed to have designedly buried any talent I might be found guilty of possessing, in the napkin of the Corn Laws.

London, 18 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XVI.

WAR WITHOUT ASKING THE PEOPLE'S LEAVE.—PARALLEL FROM NAPOLEON.

SIR,—It is plain that we are on the verge of a war, entered into to serve the interests of the ruling powers against the people, and which the people or the thinking portion of them have not the ability to resist or ask a question on. The folly and absurdity of the aristocracy in this choice, it is useless to reason on in the way of hindering. We were born to toil and to pay; we are the slave class, and we must go forth to cut the throats of those we consider our friends, or which comes to the same thing, exhaust ourselves at home in efforts to support other agents in the same process.

As out of evil comes good, there can be no harm in looking on the side whence good may come to the popular and the just cause, as well as to the other. The most urgent prospect of war, is with America. An Englishman is charged with murder on the American side the water, in the prosecution of a treasonable outbreak against the English law and constitution; and the English government says it has adopted the murder after the fact, and therefore he shall not be punished. Of course the Americans will no more give him up, than we should an agent of Don Carlos who stood charged with murder at Greenwich, because Don Carlos sent to say he had adopted the crime. Now let the ministers and the aristocracy (and they have the choice before them), once plunge the country into a war with America, and among all the evils that may arise, is this good. The whole treason and felony of the outbreak made by the Whig ministers on the law and constitution in Canada, will be canvassed before a free and impartial tribunal, and thence submitted to the judgment of the world. It will not be as it was in England, where a bribed or intimidated metropolitan press huddled up matters for its masters, and a few hundred pounds into the pockets of drunken voters could keep out of parliament those who would have made a *bonâ fide* opposition. The whole acuteness of America, with its large stock of constitutional recollections and proud memories of the time when it crushed a similar injustice, will be brought into full play. We shall see the cause argued before the English people sober,—as

they will be when a few years of ruinous war have rid them of the fumes of drunken license, which now make them eager to follow all and anybody to blood and mischief. Europe will echo the voice; and the infatuation of the ministry whom nothing could keep from war, will be brought whether with consent or not, before the eyes of the people who are the sufferers.

If any man had said to Napoleon when he led out the French armies to Moscow, "Pause; you know not what may be behind. There may be Italy lost; Belgium separated; the rampart of the Rhine abandoned; Paris——; France——;" if any man had gone on and filled up these awful blanks in the way a prophet's vision would have pointed to, it might have been as dangerous and unpopular, as if we were to supply their places now with all the practicable parallels. And Napoleon's war was just and carried with it the approbation of mankind except the tyrants, compared with this into which the English aristocracy, after keeping out everybody who might oppose them, is bent on plunging.

London, 16 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XII.

"Overwrought Enthusiasms" better than none.

Sir,—If, as being the first upon the ground, I may be allowed to hang a letter upon agreeing with your correspondent Peleg, I would say that I think I see in his first Letter a feeling most usefully to be enlarged on and supported at the present time. Few will be found to deny, that of the glorious fathers of the world's freedom, who lived and died in the æra of the Commonwealth, some ran into "overwrought enthusiasms" and "visionary theories," which were not subservient to the welfare of their cause. An evil, it may be true; but a much less evil than the want of any "enthusiasm" or "theory" at all. But herefrom may be gathered this lesson for ourselves, which will perhaps be perfectly accordant with what your correspondent intended to impress;—that great reformations in the political condition of mankind, depend on homelier facts than excited imaginations sometimes look for, and that it is possible to miss seizing the points wanted,

through being on the watch for something else, in the manner of the man who could not see the wood for trees.

To take an instance which seems in point, scarcely any greater relative alteration in an equal time can have taken place in the condition of any population, than has occurred in the case of the labouring population in the West Indian islands. And how did it arrive? Not by the descent of a "Fifth Monarchy" on earth. Not by the establishment of any new and previously untried change in the social organization of mankind. It came by nothing but the removal of a certain quantity of designed and point-blank oppression, conveyed in the shape of a few lines of possibly a very ill-written act of parliament. The removal of *oppression*,—of what had been for ages known, and intended, and preserved as such, with its concomitants *ignorance and vice*, and the great instrument of their production, gratuitous and artificial poverty,—was the key to the amended state. And so it would be with the British people if they could obtain the like emancipation;—if they could cease to work for task-masters, and obtain license to support themselves by their own industry and apply the produce to such improvements in their living, their knowledge, and their acquirements, as should enable them from day to day to show a stronger countenance to their enemies in the gate.

We wait for no new discovery; there has been time enough to know what it is we want. We want the power of securing the making of laws for the interest of the community and not against it; and whether we come at it first and then break down the hedges that surrounded it, or break down the hedges first and so come at the power, is scarcely a point for wise men to quarrel about.

London, 18 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LIV.

God's Vengeance for broken Laws and a violated Constitution in Canada.

Sir,—Silly men like Peter Peebles find themselves ruined in the meshes of the law, through never considering that there are two sides to every case, and that a plaintiff's

most romantic persuasion that he is solely and totally right, with all the noise which foolish friends and relatives can make to back him, is of none avail the moment the question is brought before a jury of hard-handed men, who care neither for Peter nor his kinsfolk, and set at naught all the eloquence of his conviction and the assurance of his faith.

But if this is the case of a simple litigant, where no absolute breach of morals is understood to exist on either side, still more is it so with the criminal who attacks his neighbours' persons or goods, in the belief that either they or the world in general will see the deed with the same favouring eyes he bestows on it himself. And so it is with the war which is just now impending over us in America, as the punishment of the tyranny and treason exercised by our governors, and adopted by a base and cowardly people at home.

Suppose anybody gifted with foresight on such matters had said to the government in Canada, "Do not wantonly break the laws of the land and the constitution of the country, and all for the sake of cheating Englishmen with bad timber. Higher and lower than you, have paid for the like with their necks; and though it may be deferred, it may be the same with you before you have done. It does not follow that you will be rid of the matter when you think. You believe you shall find a corrupt parliament and a besotted people who will support you in it; you offer to bet, that the first result of the operation, is to pension off the agents, in the place appropriated to those who have greatly injured the community. But there are other parliaments which are not corrupt, and people who are not besotted. If you break the laws and constitution upon the Canadians, though you may not be hanged for it directly, you will never be safe. There will be an Iliad of woes to come; and there are those who will never have done with their parable against you, while you or they have kin or clan. The Canadians will ask aid from the Americans; and of course will get it. Numbers of the Americans will flock to them over the border, in pure expectation of those thanks of the British nation and parliament, which, judging from the feelings transmitted to themselves by common ancestors, they will expect to be the natural consequences of assisting to repress an illegal and unconstitutional outbreak. The Americans are at peace with the English government, and anxious to keep so; but their compact is with the government as by law established, and not with something else falsely calling itself a government, but which

they know to be something of a totally opposite and hostile nature. Depend on it, the Americans will take the legal and constitutional side, and claim thanks from the British people for so doing; and not the side of the illegal and novel tyranny, of which they know nothing but that it is not the government by law established, or of which they ever heard before. But there may be a worse than this. When you have once broken up the forms of law, you can never be sure that some of your banditti may not find their way over to the United States; and then the Americans will find themselves not only the neighbours of a treasonable anarchy which it is the duty of men of all free nations for example sake to assist in putting down, but suffering from its attacks in their own territory. The right and duty of the Americans to hang any of the English traitors who should commit murder on their territory or waters, provided they give them a fair trial, would be as undoubted and clear as would be the duty of hanging them at home, if the laws and constitution were supreme, and were not at the mercy of any ministry who can command a majority of a parliament not chosen by the people. And do not suppose the case will be made any better, by anything such a ministry can do to help it. You would not be so stupid, for instance, as to dream that it would make any difference, if the ministry were to send to say they adopted the murder afterwards. If there are men in England stolid enough to hear such words with gravity, there are none in America. Fancy an American landing at Portsmouth and doing a murder, and Mr. Ambassador Stevenson intimating afterwards, that Mr. General Harrison had adopted it. The world would not contain the guffaws that should be raised. Lay none of these absurd hopes then to your hearts; be fully assured, that in one shape or other the quarrel will reach America, and that you will end with being pilloried on history's high stage, as the knaves who having honours, and friends, and place, could not help sacrificing all and with God's good pleasure their necks besides, in a foolish endeavour to imitate the first Charles and second James in little."

Here then comes on us the first act of God's vengeance for broken Laws and a violated Constitution in Canada. What next may gather about it, none can tell. An imbecile and wicked ministry have been sowing in every quarter of the earth the seeds of hatred to us; and if the human race could hold up their hands, a majority of probably two to one, would pray, and with reason, for our providential extermination. And what have we on the other side? Some well-fed land-

owners, a well-paid clergy, and an army of which the officers we are told are so generous as to keep themselves. For this it is we are brought into national jeopardy, and must continue so, unless some exertion of the high police of heaven, will remove the managers it has placed over us in its wrath.

Read Lord Jocelyn's account of the proceedings in China. Did ever a nation so sound the base string of humility as ours? And all, that "forty" of the "thieves" who rule us, may drive their coaches by the forced sale of the filthy drug which leads to the end of Lord Jocelyn's opium-smokers!

London, 18 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXI.

Disputes between Working-men and Employers.

Sir,—It is impossible to deny, that "much of the bad feeling which exists among working-men against their employers is the effect of gross ignorance," and that the same may be said of the feeling which the employers have sometimes shown against those they suspected of taking too much part with the working-men. There have been faults on both sides; and the advancing knowledge of both parties, will go to cure the mischief, and prevent its repetition.

If a working-man will fancy himself to have gained that step which is a most justifiable object of his ambition, though it is true, as the French conscripts used to say, that everybody cannot die field-marshal;—if he will imagine that he has been sufficiently fortunate in life to make him an employer of labourers, as many a man within his knowledge has succeeded in doing before him, he will find considerable light beam upon him, as to what he would and would not do in such a situation. I apprehend he would find his anxiety for the situation much diminished, if he thought one condition of its attainment was, that he was to pay workmen whether he could repay himself by their work or not.

With all the opportunities of communication with the working-classes which the employers have, I feel sure that a considerate and clear-headed man might always bring the major part of them to agree with him on what was right for both the parties concerned. I feel certain, for instance, that if such a case was put between an officer and private soldiers,

there would be no more dispute about it, than there would be a demand that the captain should make good the pay and pensions which the government should have faultily cut off. There is a great fund of reasonableness in all the working classes, whether their work be of the nature of war or peace. It is never with the many, that the injustice and the refusal to hear reason are found extensively to prevail.

London, 18 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXIV.

Comparison between the Proceedings of the Chartists and the Ministers.

Sir,—Time was, when the men of Manchester exercised a considerable influence on public opinion throughout the country; and you have certainly not been backward in stirring them to exertion or marshalling the way. There must be many points of close interest to them, in the war which an imbecile ministry threatens to bring on with the freest people upon earth, for the sake of covering the consequence of its own treasonable breach of the laws and constitution in Canada. What was all a few Chartists ever did,—nobody is quite sure to this day with how much of intent or how little of information,—compared with the cold-blooded and calculated outbreak, of men pressed by no want and urged by no suffering, but acting against a plenitude of light and knowledge, and with the undisguised purpose of putting down reform and continuing a base pecuniary imposition on the pockets of Englishmen? Had Justice by accident stuck fast in some nook of this habitable globe, what would be the comparative chances of Frost with his companions in misfortune, and the off-handed traitors who after burning counties by wholesale, are now sending us to reap the just punishment of our guilty connivance, in a war with America, and in the end probably with the world?

As soon as war shall be declared, the Americans will speak out. They will avow, that in taking part with the Canadians against the outbreak of what they considered had ceased to be a legal government upon their frontier, they believed themselves acting on the strictest principles of the law of nations, and were looking forward to the thanks and approbation of the British people, for this friendly interference in aid

of what it was the closest interest of that people to protect and to defend. That the case is not altered, by the British people, in their corruption and their cowardice, having chosen to take part, at least by connivance, with the traitors. That the Americans had made a compact with the British government as by law established, and not with something which was not a government nor established by any law, but a nest of traitors, as likely to be sent for and hanged as soon as the news of their proceedings reached home, as to be sent into the House of Lords with pensions as encouragement to their successors. A free and reasonable government is bound to suppose the acts of another nation to be dictated by reason and attachment to what is declared as law; at all events it is not bound to run guessing after what the baseness of a people and the wickedness of rulers may by possibility propagate by their conjunction. The Americans will therefore maintain, that their assistance to the Canadian sufferers, was an act of friendship demanded from a bordering country by international law, an act which all nations are consequently bound to support and to approve. It appears that for this act of national right a hundred and fifty American citizens are now suffering, by the illegal sentences of unauthorized judges, the punishment of felons in New Holland; a deed of brutality unparalleled in the history of nations. If war is insisted on, the first hundred and fifty English citizens who fall into the hands of the Americans will of necessity be placed in a situation of retaliation, with offer of exchange. Your son or mine may be among them; but how can we complain? It is part of that monstrous suffering it pleased heaven to impose upon us, when it decreed that we should be born where there is not virtue and intelligence in the citizens at large, to prevent their country from being made the just object of the hatred of the human race. And men sit still, and take no note. They walk along the streets, as if there were no shame; and present themselves to their families at home, as if they had left at the door the carelessness of the fool and the submission of the slave. Even at church, it may be doubted whether they always close their litany with a prayer to the power which only worketh great marvels, to save us from the pestilence which walks in darkness, in the shape of an imbecile ministry always plotting against the interests of the public, under the impenetrable veil of its own intractable ignorance and unteachable presumption.

London, 18 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXII.

Our Policy on Exportation of Machinery.

Sir,—Without wishing to be hard on anybody, especially upon such imperfect grounds, I cannot help seeing in your brief counsels to "A Townsman," an opportunity for descanting on the general weakness of our commercial and manufacturing policy.

We possess the most splendid natural advantages for manufactures, of any existing portion of the globe. Our island is almost one mine of manufacturing capabilities, and our population eminent beyond that of all the earth, for the qualities necessary to carry them into use. And, as a whole, what do we? or at all events, what do some of us, and those sufficient, unhappily, to paralyze the exertions of the rest? We cry out, "For Heaven's sake, do not allow us to sell our goods abroad, for we know it would reduce our wages at home. Give a premium to foreign manufacturers to undersell us everywhere besides, and levy the amount on ourselves by a tax on what we eat; because it would be hard a foreign manufacturer should lose anything for the sake of keeping it ourselves. But one thing more, we particularly beg. We care nothing for your levying a tax on us for the sake of giving the premium to foreign manufacturers, which you need not do unless you liked. But we are particularly anxious that you should pass an Act, which you know by experience will be of no practical avail at all, for the sake of making us believe there is a resistance to our machinery going abroad. We are quite content to be cut off from the uses of it here; we could not think of altering it, and in fact would resist it all we could, because it is only a trick of the masters to lower wages. But we cannot stand the notion, that the machinery which is prohibited by law from being useful to us here, should be allowed to go abroad to be useful to somebody there. We are quite willing to help to pay a premium on carrying the machinery abroad, but at the same time we are not willing it should go. What we should like is, that we should pay the premium for its going if foreigners can get it, but that they should not be able to get it after all. This is what we set our minds upon; and this we hope is what you will try for us."

This seems to be the upshot of any present attempts to prevent the establishment of machinery abroad. If indeed the circumstances of the case had been the opposite of what they are;—if we had a parliament sitting for the purpose of protecting commerce, instead of being selected by an oath to an interest against it;—if our laws and regulations had been directed to the protection of our merchants and manufacturers instead of being pointed to their suppression and extinction;—there might be some reason or excuse for the little pettifogging save-all, which should try in addition, to create difficulty in our inventions in machinery coming into the hands of foreigners. But if our manufactures are to be outlawed, why not by one process as well as by another? And why should sensible men put themselves to trouble about a check, which besides the fact of its being substantially null and without effect, if effective to the greatest imaginable extent would in our present circumstances be of no more avail, than the economy which when glass is broken, suggests the exclamation to "save the pieces."

London, 18 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XI.

WAR FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF OPINION AT HOME.

SIR,—Another lull appears to presage, that the danger to the Whigs is over for the moment. Let us hope it will be improved by the friends of the Charter, for increasing their small force against the day of contest. And here allow me to refer your readers to the list, which is probably within reach of most of them, of 350 places in which examination should be made whether exertion could not gain a point for the cause, as published by your contemporary the *True Scotsman* of the 6th*. Out of 350 places, it is great odds if some did not hit. The Whigs fear this system, and they fear nothing else.

If anything was required to sharpen the exertions of our friends, it would be found in the manifest approximations to a war, without much choice of where, which are making by the combined parties of Whig and Tory. The fact is, there is no Opposition. All there was in the shape of an Opposition, the Whigs were lucky enough to get rid of, or else to make

* See p. 188 preceding.

terms with. The country is being hurried into war for the suppression of opinion at home, without anybody to remonstrate. And who should there be, and who is likely to be sent? The manufacturing towns will send nobody, whom they suspect of the slightest leaning towards the interest of the working classes. Any trumpery man may get into the House of Commons for money with the same ease that he might purchase a harlot in the streets, provided he unites himself to one or other of the great anti-popular parties. But if he would pay ten times over, nobody will sell to a people's man. We are bought and sold in all directions, but like the negroes in slave countries, we are not allowed to buy ourselves. And the result of the determinations of such masters, we are obliged to take for law and government. If this is not a time to stir, it is hard to say what is.

Our friends will perhaps say, it is not much they can do, by sending anybody into such an assembly. If it is not much, it is of the more importance, inasmuch as it is all. Surely no men have been more prompted and tempted than they; and if they will not stir, it must be because they have taken a liking to their quarters.

London, 15 *March*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXIII.

Operative Anti-Corn-Law Associations.

Sirs,—I am moved to ask, whether there is not an Operative Anti-Corn-Law Association in Sheffield. Such are flourishing in Liverpool, Leicester, and Nottingham; and there are reasons, which if it was not for the fear of being suspected of personal flattery I could point out, proving that there is nothing in the soil or air of Sheffield, which should hinder it from being among the very foremost in the cause.

In this free country, because one set of men takes one way, is no reason why another should not take another. An effort was made to advance the condition of the working classes, by the preparation and bringing forward of what was named the People's Charter. But as if to justify the old Tory argument against all attempts to assist the numerous classes, no sooner was the thing done than it was taken possession of by

a different set of men, and carried away to measures as remote from the intentions of the original projectors or the main part of them, as the difference between a chance of success and none, could make it.

If ever a feeble, unartist-like invention was put into the hands or mouths of a popular party whose complaint was weakness, whether by friends or enemies, it assuredly was that which told them the way to success lay in opposing everybody else. Men of common spirit do not put up with such a thing in private life; there is a spice of the bully in it, which always leads to successful opposition. The threat is, that unless I will take you up behind on my horse, you will strew sixpenny nails and broken bottles in my road. No man ever rode a mile by this process since the world stood; nor ever ought. Since, then, we are obliged to condemn the way which others have taken, let us try if we cannot mend it by taking a better of our own.

In this advice there is nothing inconsistent with the independence of the working classes, but much the other way. The working classes are dependent, when they take the wrong way, and are left sticking in the ditch their enemies would see them in. This, as an able man said on another subject, is being independent of the causeway by walking in the gutter. Neither is it contrary to independence to go the way towards getting what you want, because others may be going the same way on the same errand; there is very little business done, on the roads that lead no where but to some nest-egg of a man's own. There is a proper medium between refusing to go along the turnpike because others go there too, and allowing other people to put our own business out of our heads and substitute their own. The masters may not be altogether to be trusted with the business of the men, any more than the men with the masters'; but that ought not to hinder sensible people from moving on their common errand. And it should not be assumed without reason produced, that the possessors of capital in our county, are not "more noble" than those of another I could mention, where the feud between the *have-somethings* and the *have-nothings* (as I remember it was explained at the time by an eminent individual of your own) was of power to cancel all services and throw down all barriers, where the suspicion had been incurred of a friendly disposition towards the latter.

London, 13 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No. XI.

AMERICAN QUESTION.—WHAT THE AMERICANS WILL DO.

SIR,—No stronger proof can be given of the zeal with which man is prone to rush into his own and other's mischief, than the quiet unassuming way in which he takes for granted, not only that black is white where he happens to be concerned, but that in questions where he is to have whole nations taking the opposite side of the argument, he and he only is the sage and philosopher who is in the right.

In illustration of this tendency, there is before me the article of a very liberal paper as no doubt it is accounted, containing a grave intimation that the failure of the Chinese expedition is probably a judgment of heaven upon the wickedness of the project, and concluding with severe rebuke of the ministry which did not take care to *do its wicked work by better instruments.* In the same manner on the American question, none seems to suppose the possibility of the case being argued by anybody but the stupid clique in which it was his fortune to be born. A paper often prominent for liberalism and sound sense, says "the solution of this delicate question depends upon whether the American Government is aware that the British Ministry has taken upon it the responsibility of the destruction of the Caroline." Now who cares sixpence whether the British ministry has taken upon it the responsibility or not? In the abstract case, who would give sixpence for the responsibility of the British ministry? And in the particular, who would be imbecile enough to maintain that it was of the consequence of sixpence to a case of alleged murder, whether the British government, or any government, or any body or any thing, chose to profess to adopt it afterwards? Above all things, fancy the American government troubling itself to be aware whether the British ministry had taken upon itself the responsibility or not. A company of men seated as they think in a situation of impunity, entrenched behind the sea and the fleets that are upon it, and liable to no previously existing law, as they have demonstrated by the way in which they have set past laws and constitutions at defiance, are to adopt an alleged murder;—they are to declare that what may have been a murder before, shall cease to be one because they have chosen to take upon themselves the responsibility;—and they are to expect this idiotic doctrine to be received, not by the gaping crowd of slaves which sur-

rounds them here, but by the free and independent government of a foreign state.

This might be endurable if a man could get rid of the stain of country when he finds his countrymen turning felons or fools. But as he cannot, he is reduced to the thankless task of displaying the folly of their course to men too slavish to understand. Would not anybody else have perceived, that the Americans if pushed to a war, will declare that they took the legal side from the beginning; that their compact was with the government as by law established, and not with an illegal combination which upon the face of things was no government; that after the agents in this outbreak had committed murder on their shores or waters, they will hang them if they can catch them, as the people of England ought to have done the prime movers in the treason; that if instead of this the people of England have chosen to send them to the House of Lords with pensions, this can make no alteration in the question to foreign and independent nations; that the first English citizens who fall into the hands of the Americans shall be placed in a state of retaliation till exchanged, for the hundred and fifty honourable and high-minded American citizens who were captured in assisting to defend the laws and constitution of England, and who have been subjected to the punishment of felons by the sentences of pretended courts-martial, every member of which is exposed to legal process in his own country or any other. All this is what the Americans will plead, and trumpet into the willing ears of twenty nations all smarting under the consciousness of British oppression or dishonesty. This is what we were born to; this is what unfortunately we must endure, with the reservation only of such chances of alleviation or prevention, as remonstrance may effect.

London, 18 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

XXIII.

What is Trade for?

Sir,—If there is a difference in the price of a commodity in this country and in some other from which it can be obtained, is that a reason for prohibiting the commerce with the cheaper country, or is it a reason for going there and trading

as fast as we can? And what is the meaning of being a trading country, if it is not that by means of our trade, we are to get things which we could not get without, or get them at a cheaper rate?

If one man stands up and says to another, "I can make that article for you, if you will allow me to put my hand into your pocket and take out what price I chuse," how is it that this other man has not an equal right to say, "Without troubling you, I will go to this other man, who will let me have it at half price which I much prefer."

If the agriculturist stops the consumer of corn upon the road, and puts a pistol to his head, and demands that he shall purchase corn of the home agriculturist and nobody else, because it is convenient to pocket the price,—how comes it that the corn-eater has not as good a right or better, to reply with the fellow-pistol of the brace if he can get hold of it, and intimate that for a similar reason, he means to buy his corn of Hans over the water, and fire upon any man who shall attempt to hinder him? And of the two, which will the public take part with,—the man who demands to spend his own money where he likes, or the man who would take it from him on the plea of convenience to himself?

These are the questions which are continually suggested, by the efforts in one shape or other, of the agriculturists to defend their oppression of their neighbours. I remember a man in the army, against whom it was a joke, that he told his stories till he believed them himself. Something like this probably takes place with the agriculturists. It is difficult for a man to go on gravely from year's end to year's end maintaining certain principles to be moral and right, and neither find himself taken up by the constable nor excommunicated by the courts ecclesiastical, without working himself into a persuasion, that what men endure so patiently, must have something of the true.

When it is stated that in a year when corn came down to 41*s.* 3*d.*, from ten to forty labourers were out of work in agricultural parishes, and if poor rates were reduced it must have been from a demand for labour in the manufacturing districts,—a reason which might be assigned for this, would be, not that it was from an excessive import of foreign corn, but that it was from the import of foreign corn having ever been prohibited or meddled with. No man doubts or denies, that it is possible for an unjust trade to benefit itself and employ more people in that particular trade; no man doubts either, that if anything happens to check this trade, the additional

people may be turned out of employ, under circumstances of distress and inconvenience to themselves. Both these statistical facts would be vouched for by the police, if a question were asked with reference to the trade carried on in Field Lane, which is the metropolitan bazaar for stolen pocket-handkerchiefs and the like unconsidered trifles. But the perfect verity of these data would not weigh as dust in the scale, if the question was moved of whether the whole trade of the district in view, was not a public evil and a thing to be put down.

London, 18 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XXII.

Rappite Co-operators in America.

Sir,—Your correspondent "O." refers to authority to establish, "that the Rappite co-operators of America have completely proved the practicability of the co-operative system." The great respect I have for the authority cited, induces me to believe that it was undoubtedly meant to add, "for Rappites in America." It is evident that such a tail-piece might be as marked in its effect, as if something of the same kind was added to a declaration, that I had witnessed the practicability of growing pine-apples in hedge-rows completely proved, at Sierra Leone.

In the first place, supposing the asserted fact to be established beyond the possibility of dispute or discussion, it by no means follows that because men did this in a new country like America where the means of necessary support are almost at the doors of every individual, therefore they will do it in Edinburgh,—which I take to be the proposition your correspondent wishes to establish. We might as well assume, that because a widow with a young family is wooed as a kind of fortune in America,—or was at least, on Adam Smith's authority, fifty years ago, and is probably in some parts still,—therefore she will be wooed in Edinburgh. The reason why what takes place in one instance, will not in the other, is precisely because the surrounding circumstances are altogether different. And so it may as easily be in the case of co-operation.

But is not there another feature in the case, as striking as

if it had been put there on purpose to maintain the contradiction? It occurs to me very forcibly, that the Rappites were all old bachelors. Unless I make a mistake in a name, they were the very people whom Mr. Owen proceeded to supersede in an establishment they had held for some years; and I remember being amused with the idea, of what a shock to the *genius loci* if he remained behind, must have been given by the first occupancy of the bowers and halls of Rapp by Mr. Owen's following, who were far too wise to have thought of putting asunder what God has joined. But this one circumstance makes all the difference in the world. Nothing in the reasons which make pine-apples grow in the hedge-rows in Sierra Leone and not at Edinburgh, is half so striking and direct. Nobody doubts that a few scores, or even hundreds, of resolute old bachelors, all probably contributing a portion of property to begin with, and laying it out in land under an agreement either to make a common stock, or to divide by some other rule agreed on by the community, may take their common soup, and smell at nosegays, and eat wall-fruit, and grow an unknown quantity of wholesome vegetables by the labour of their own hands besides. All this is done daily with considerable comfort and success, by fellows of colleges in Protestant countries, and the inhabitants of monasteries in Catholic. The inmates of the higher kinds of hospitals and alms-houses, make some approaches to the same condition; with the reservation only that their funds were provided by somebody for them and not by themselves. But nobody ever hence concluded, that the same plan would enable a number of stirring men and women eager to provide themselves with children and grand-children to the numbers of a patriarch, to find indefinite support in a country where the population is already on the shortest of allowance in consequence of the proportion between their numbers and what there is allowed to be to eat.

And this leads me to the other remarkable assertion of your correspondent; that there is *over-production;* by which he means, that there is or could be more produced, than people will buy at the price the producers call remunerating. Now this is nothing but what would equally take place in a town besieged, or where the gates should be purposely shut for the sake of enhancing the price of what could be grown in flower-pots within the walls. There would always be more to be grown, if people would pay the price. But there is a certain point to which the price will be carried, and a point to which it will not. There would therefore always be a man

ready with an additional pot-full or two of eatables, which he could produce if the working classes would give him three days' work for a handful instead of two. There would be precisely the appearance your correspondent describes; "the people would make goods, and nobody would give them a dinner, for their day's work, and hence thousands of them would be idle." But here your correspondent would step in and say, there was a fault in the wages; there was some defect in the conduct of the mayor and aldermen, who did not regulate these matters so that every man should have wherewith to buy a bushel where it was settled there should only be a peck. Or if the mayor and aldermen could not help it, then it was either the hard-heartedness of the manufacturing capitalists who would not give their men wages enough to buy a bushel of corn out of a peck, or else the folly of the working classes themselves, who did not begin to "co-operate, co-operate," and grow as much corn upon the house-tops by a process peculiar to themselves, as would have been got from all the farmers outside the walls in a state of commercial liberty.

I mean seriously to say, that this is my notion of the argument. If pine-apples can be grown in hedge-rows at Edinburgh, let us see it done, and seeing will be believing. But in the meantime, we are loth to hear of much time or capital being engaged in it, on the mere assumption that such a thing was done by different kind of people somewhere else.

London, 17 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XVII.

FELONIOUS WARS.—SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SPEECH.

SIR,—I should like to know, what were the ideas of a "necessity for war," and of "the interests and honour of the country being at stake," which glitter in a late speech of Sir Robert Peel before the collective wisdom. Was it meant, for instance, that if an attempt was made to force a filthy drug down the throats of a foreign nation, and the forces employed on this disgusting service had, either from the vigour of honest men acting on the other side, or by some Providential interposition of storm, pestilence, or famine, been utterly

shattered and baffled, *this* would form a "necessity for war," which should bring out the zealous efforts of "the people of England, Scotland, aye, and of Ireland too," to "display their ancient prowess" and show "their readiness to maintain their power and glory"? There may be no denying, that in the multitudinous wars in which Great Britain has been engaged, some may have been just, and as such have given an opportunity for the display of that true valour which is never shown in a false quarrel. The contests under Elizabeth and the Third William, may have been something like those which England has been in the habit of forcing upon other nations. The first might have had considerable resemblance in principle, to the resistance to which the native princes of India are driven once at least in the reign of each successive Governor-General, and without which the said Governor-General would think he came home dishonoured and mulct of his fair claim to a Marquisate and pension to his posterity. The struggle under William was much like many an anti-British question of the present day. There was a "wrong man," supported by a nation from a consciousness of their interest in his better government; and there was a corrupt and servile foreign nation, shedding its blood and treasure to please a sovereign or an aristocracy by warring on the choice of its independent neighbour. In William's case, the foreign tyranny was defeated and dishonoured, as it would be well for mankind should always be the event. If men eschew national dishonour, they should avoid dishonourable acts; but when they rush into every felony at the beck of interested rulers, to talk of dishonour afterwards is cant. Nobody can eat their cake and have their cake. If men insist on bolting the dishonourable deeds, there is no use in demanding honour to come of the execution afterwards. The dishonour is in the deed; and when the deed is pushed to success, there are only two dishonours instead of one.

The times, as you observe, are changed. There will be sad disappointments, if anybody plunges into unjust wars in the assurance that the nation will plunge after them. It may dirty its shoes; but by the time it is over the shoe-tops, it will be about and back again. Any nation against whom the British aristocracy shall commence an unjust war, may feel the strongest assurance that the community who feel and pay for the war, will speedily put it's hook in the nose of its leaders, and bring them back to sober sense. The British people is not now as once, the puppet of its long talkers and loud declaimers. The kingdom is departed from that dynasty;

and though they may have some power for good or evil at the outset of a determination, they have only to make the trial to find how brief is their preponderance.

London, 23 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XIII.

We shall have an Opposition.

Sir,—Your "Leicester Burgess" has manifestly his eye open. They will be all off, as he says, some morning, to "the black hole at the side of the hill." I hope we shall be able to sound them "a point of war," in congratulation on their starting.

A sore place I would suggest to the Chartists to harass them on in their retreat, is to ply them with demands for the return of Frost and company, and with perpetual allusions to the small damage done by those irregular citizens, amounting in the whole I believe to something like one mayor wounded in the groin, compared with the blood and fire spread by the breach of law and constitution enacted by the retiring ministers in Canada, and for which hundreds of resolute men have as deeply sworn to bring them to justice in their public and private capacities when able, as can have been done by anybody in the instance of Eliza Grimwood, or any of the others where the idea of unnatural murder perplexes the conscience of the public. They are retiring into private life, but with shame, dishonour, and discredit, such as have followed no retiring ministers, the celebrated inmates of the castle of Ham included. Would to God there had been spirit in the British nation, to keep their place by the side of the noble-minded French, in circumstances where no demand was made on them for the baptism of blood, but for mere exertion of civil courage and parliamentary protection of their rights.

Whether the Tories will be better or not, is as you remark, a thing irrelevant to the present object. The odds are, that they *will* be better, by all the difference that is made by demonstrating that the people go for something, and know good from evil. Worse they can by no chance be. But the great point gained, will be that we shall have an Opposition. The nominal one under the Irish

and English tail, has always been nominal and nothing else. It was always perfectly known, what it would wink at, and what it would support. An Irish Opposition will never be worth sixpence for England. As an example, at this moment when there is an appearance of war with America, what the Irish politicians put forward, is not any opposition to an unjust war, but a declaration that if it is to be engaged in, the Irish must have their price. Now this is not the way we go to work in England, and if the English at this moment are better off than the Irish, the difference in the ways may have something to do in accounting for it.

London, 25 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LV.

VOTES OF WOMEN.—SUFFRAGE BY SAMPLE.

SIR,—Of all the reasons given why women should not vote, there is only one that makes any show of reasonableness; and that being examined, resolves itself into the designed awkwardness and rudeness of existing institutions. In a state of things where the great object is to check the exercise of popular opinion upon the directors of the country, it is a grand point gained to be able to appeal to the fact of one-half of human kind being by general consent cut off at a swoop from political privileges. No opposer of Universal Suffrage is so dull, as not to be able to urge, that the first proceeding of what you call Universal Suffrage, is to cut off women. It is as good as the awful question about "the beggar on the bridge;" or about the results that would arise to the community, if one man in a hundred thousand, who as being of the lower orders had been convicted of assaulting a guardian of the night with a club, or shooting at his fellow with a pistol-bullet, sports which imply no moral depravity in our betters, should be discovered spoiling the national determinations by the admixture of his vote.

This argument on the *convenience* of cutting off half the claimants to votes at a blow, is really the only one of reasonable appearance the opponents have. For on every other ground the admission of women to vote would be a great addition of security for the general welfare. Among other reasons why it would do good, are these two special ones;—

women in general are not such *fools* as men are, and secondly, they are not such *knaves*. Your man is ordinarily an ass, ready to follow any claptrap which rogues may put before him; and this from some shabby expectation of being the successful thief, or the victorious oppressor. If all the detestable and disgraceful public acts which have darkened the last quarter of a century, could have been submitted to a jury of women, three out of four would have been stopped by the superior sense and virtue of the referees. Women, in fact, are vastly farther advanced in civilization than men are; vastly more removed from the instincts and passions of savage life, more accustomed to calculate consequences, because it is on them they have always fallen in their bitterness, and above all things, less deteriorated by that wear and tear with the meanness and villainy of the world, which is the inlet to half the miseries of mankind by enfeebling the belief in the possibility of resistance.

But see now, how this argument from *convenience*, might happen suddenly to fail those who put their trust in it. The virtue of what is called Universal Suffrage, consists in the interests and opinions of all classes and divisions of society being taken into the account in the settling of the final result. But for the preservation of this principle, there is not the smallest abstract necessity that all should vote. If anybody calls this paradoxical, ask him whether if it were practicable for one in ten out of the actually existing population to be taken by a perfectly fair lottery, the votes of these would not do just as well. Whether a perfectly fair lottery can be made, is not the question here; the question is, whether if it was there, it would not do as well.

But if this be conceded, as it can hardly be denied, then it may perhaps not be entirely beyond the compass of the human intellect, at some time or other to find such a way, or something that shall be equivalent. In civilized countries, no insuperable difficulties are found, in keeping registers of all the regular and settled population, with their ages. Where a militia or a conscription is concerned, the government generally discovers the thing to be within the limits of the possible. Suppose then the ages of all the settled inhabitants of a parish, a city, or a county, to be registered once for all; and if some inaccuracies should unavoidably take place, it is hard to see how the consequences should tend in one direction more than in another. And imagine it to be settled, that whenever an election took place, those only who on reference to the register could establish their

age to be between certain prescribed limits, should be allowed the actual vote; as for example, if the voting was confined to those of both sexes who could prove themselves between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-two, thirty-one and thirty-two, forty-one and forty-two, and so on. Such an arrangement would give votes to something more than a tenth of the existing population of mature years, or than a fifth of the number that would be included under the present use of the term Universal Suffrage, where women are excluded. And if any further dispersion among different ages, or reduction of absolute numbers were held desirable, the elements of the alteration are there, with the same facility as an acre of land may be included in any kind of oblong or a square.

Such a plan of voting might be called "Suffrage by Sample;" and though there is no doubt that a cunning enemy, if he had his will, could contrive ways in which it should fail, there is enough to show how small a matter might put down the outcry against women's voting which is raised on pretences of *convenience*.

London, 25 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXII.

ROBINSON CRUSOE.—QUESTION COMPLICATED BY BARTER.

SIR,—Shall I be excused for presuming to support the letter of Mr. Biggs in your last, by expatiating on the principle, at the bottom of all discussions of the nature of those in hand,—that the quantity of good things men in general have, depends on the comparative ease with which these good things can be created or called into existence, and this again has a close connexion with the numbers who are in pursuit? The fact is tolerably plain, where each man goes directly to furnish himself with the necessaries and conveniences of life as Robinson Crusoe did; and it is not less real, though more difficult to trace, when complicated by the introduction of barter, and the rest of the machinery of European society.

Debate as we will, the reason why working-men get a pinched quantity of food, is because it is very difficult in the existing state of circumstances and of laws, to create an in-

creased quantity of corn or other provisions, and because the quantity that is allowed to exist is very stinted in comparison of the number of those who would eat if they could. If a working-man, of any kind or class, was told to take a spade, and go and grow corn for his family to eat, or fodder for beef and mutton to be added to it as a relish, but to be careful to dig upon no land which belonged to anybody already, or in any way interfere with what are called the vested rights of other people;—it would not be long before he found out, that the invitation was exceeding little worth, and that he might as well stay where he was and save trouble. And suppose he was acute enough to say, "I do not think I shall make much out in this line; but there is another thing I can do. I have a loom in a corner, and three or four of my neighbours have more, and among us we can make a wonderful sight of cloth, and we hear the people in Poland are throwing away corn to save the trouble of housing it, but would give bushels upon bushels for a fathom or two of cloth. We will send there, and then we shall know no want. The Poles want cloth and we want corn; it must surely have been an act of Providence that made it so." Suppose he discovered all this; and what would he discover next? *Corn Laws.*

He would discover that a law had been precisely made by the interested, to prevent him from thus, by a round-about process, arriving at a place where food could be got easily. He would find that the law said, No corn, no beef, no mutton, no pork; nothing below turbot, which is a comfort the rich cannnot do without. He would find that he was shut out by law from all the easy places, and told to dig and be d——d, where everybody knows nothing is to be got by it.

The working classes cannot all of them see this, through the mystification which barter, and wages, and capital, and poor-laws, throw about the subject. But they have got as far as seeing "men as trees walking," and no power on earth will hinder them from arriving at the full vision in good time.

London, 25 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXV.

Inutility of making Enemies.

Sir,—Your regret cannot exceed mine at seeing the manner in which some of our friends throw away their cause. It is in this way we are doomed to be beaten by our enemies. Our imprudent friends take all this for vigour and resolution. If those qualities were exhibited in an unextinguishable determination never to cease using the means for their end the Charter, they would command adherence, with its consequence success. But there always remains the question of the means.

Is there any instance of an avowed minority in power, whatever they may be in numbers, forcing their way to victory by such a project as declaring they would stop the proceedings of all other debaters till they carried their ends? There is something in the very plan, hostile to the human probabilities of success. Its immediate tendency is to direct the hand of every man, against those whose first complaint is that they are too weak already.

There is no use in combating this impolicy directly. Men will fall off from it by degrees, and leave the inventors alone in their glory. There must be no avowal of error demanded from them; it will be quite enough if by degrees they follow the wicked man at the beginning of the Liturgy, and enable us in the end to save our souls alive.

Surely they must have continued the experiment nearly long enough. What have they gained by it; what can they show themselves to be likely to gain? They have filled the hearts of the common enemy with triumph, and put off *sine die* the arrival of anything like progression of Reform. Surely, when they have tried long enough, which cannot be far off, they will try something else.

To the precision of judgment and power of recommendation, in the combination of which your journal goes beyond any with which I could attempt to parallel it, what there is of good in the above must be committed.

London, 25 *March*, 184[illegible].

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXIII.

Happiness of the Working Classes.

Sir,—I never put a false colouring when I can help it; I have enough to do with trying to put the true. When Mr. Barber says, that he had expressed an opinion that "the working classes would be happier if they were employed in cultivating the soil, and making their own clothing with the rude sort of machinery used by their forefathers," but I omitted to add, "than under the present system;" it certainly was only because I took for granted that everybody must so understand it. When it is affirmed that men "would be happier," there seems no possibility of its being understood to mean anything but "than they are at present."

And even now (which may be my own fault) I feel unable to discover what the difference is between what was said and what ought to have been. But the substantial point in dispute is apprehended to have been this. My assertion was, that the misery of the working classes at the present hour arose mainly from their allowing the market for their productions to be closed; and that while this was permitted and encouraged, there was no use in regretting the happier state of their forefathers, or wishing to go back to a condition, where the very first element of any return must be to get rid of half their numbers.

Nothing is gained by reiterating disputed points, unless with the accompaniment of argument. If your correspondent means, that instead of implying a necessity for getting rid of half the numbers of the working classes, a return to the system of five hundred years ago would "make room for a still greater number," the inquiry must of necessity lie over, till he has time and convenience for the production of the proofs.

London, 24 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XII.

THE "PEGGY" OF PERTH.—CARE IN CHUSING HER COMMANDER.

SIR,—It is not an easy thing to define the boundaries, between what is to be reasonably expected from human care and attention, and what is not. That, negatively, without a certain portion of attention no extensive good can be permanently compassed, is within the knowledge of every man. Nobody has seen a crop spring casually from the stony desert, without any having taken the pains to plough, or harrow, or manure. Nor has anybody witnessed fortuitous wood and canvas forming themselves into a gallant ship, to bear some lucky individual miraculously across the deep. On the other hand, there are scarcely any limits to the possible inlets to disappointment. The bravest vessel that ever sailed the seas, may sink through some oversight which nothing short of the gift of prophecy could have detected in time; and the most hopeful harvest may be carried off, through one of those accidents of nature from which the happiest climate is not wholly free.

Reflections of this kind are peculiarly distressing to those who, though they do not personally go down to the sea in ships, are anxious because their worldly wealth is risked upon the chances of the deep. No care, no caution, is too much for them to exercise, in chusing the individuals to whose prudence they will entrust the precious charge. They will examine into their whole manner of life, and sift what the French call their "antecedents," with the most scrupulous nicety. They will demand to know where they served their apprenticeship to the dangers of their trade, and how they discharged the earlier and rougher parts they were invited to perform. They will ask what service they have seen, and inquire what characters they brought away. They will be curious to know whether they have been engaged in fair weather cruises, where they had little to do but spread their canvas to a trade-wind, and then sit down to pick oakum or catch dolphins at ease; or whether they have had their fair share of gale and squall, so as to have a chance to know what to do with the good vessel when evil shall betide.

But for one set of commanders, such owners have an un-

speakable abhorrence, if the bare idea occurs to them of being troubled with their acquaintance. And the abhorred commanders are of that particular kind, who set top-gallant sails when it begins to blow, and take in all sail when they are drifting down on a lee shore; the men, in short, who either have not knowledge to enable them to do the right thing when it is wanted and avoid the wrong, or else who have some overpowering interest of their own, directing them to do the precisely opposite to the interest of those who employ and pay them. Amidst all the chances and changes of this mortal life, there is no man voted so unlikely to bring his ship into port, as one of the class described. That there have been vessels so commanded which have not gone absolutely to the bottom, either because their sides were too hard for the rocks they were laid upon, or because a favouring Providence would not vouchsafe such weather that a ship could possibly be lost, is undoubtedly to be discovered among the chapter of human events. But no man has thereon built a theory of the wisdom of retaining such conductors, nor any private person satisfied himself of the reasonableness of the course.

If we were to make like inquisition into the gifts and graces of the conductors of our state vessel,—ask where they learned their trade, and how,—what symptoms they have shown of knowing how to stave off and guard against war, which is to a state what a coral-reef is to a vessel, something she may get off, but with the certainty of being the worse for it and not the better,—what skill they have shown in keeping on the safe side of a channel when there was a bad one to chuse,—what gales they have foreseen and provided against, and what lee shores escaped from by taking care never to come near them at all,—if in one form or other we were to exercise half the scrutiny which is set on foot before the Peggy of Perth is committed to the care of her liege master and his mate,—where would be the answers we should get, and what would be the satisfaction anybody would derive from their receipt?

London, 22 *March*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXIV.

Absurdities of the Commercial Code.

Sirs,—As the absurdities of our commercial code are declared to be "making speedy way with all classes of the public," this seems to be the time for reiterating the demand for examination, whether the grand root of the absurdity does not always lie in this fact,—that whenever a higher price is paid for goods than necessary, there is a national loss and throwing away of the difference of price.

The keeping this secret, was the grand resource and stand-by of the olden breed of monopolizers. Messrs. Gammon and Snap were by means of parliamentary interest or otherwise, to be indulged in a snack of monopoly somewhere at the expense of consumers; and the point they were peculiarly anxious to put forward, was, that their firm was part and portion of the great and glorious society of British merchants, whose prosperity is of such vital importance to the empire at large, and consequently anything so poured into the pockets of Gammon & Co. was a distinct addition *quoad*, to the sum of British wealth, glory, and felicity. And the receivers only know, or ought to do, the masses of money which on this frail pretence were in one way or other poured into the gulphs which were gaping to receive them.

The answer to this ancient and venerable fraud, is that whenever the firm in question receives by act of parliament 40*s*. for what might have been had for 30*s*., there is the loss not only of the 10*s*. to the consumer, which appears to be "what nobody *can* deny," but also the loss of custom to the value and amount of the same 10*s*. over again, which would have been given to some other dealer if the consumer had been allowed to consume at the rate of 30*s*. and not of 40*s*., and expend the difference where he pleased; which balances the addition of ten shillings made to the concerns of the firm aforesaid, and so leaves the loss to the consumers an unbalanced loss. This is what our forefathers were unable to find out.

For example, Port wine can be had for 40*s*. a dozen from Oporto, through the intervention it may be of a trade in Sheffield cutlery to Portugal. Up stands a man and says he will be bound to make good wine that shall pass for Port, in hot-

houses at home, for the small charge of 80*s*. a dozen, and he shall conceive himself an ill-used gentleman if the legislature will not encourage domestic industry, and the members for Sheffield vote for the same. And the instrument he will propose, shall be a duty to be laid on Oporto Port, to raise the price to 80*s*., or it may be to 85*s*. Suppose then he is in full enjoyment of his scheme. Wine-drinkers are drinking the home-made Port at 80*s*.; and all this, it is boastingly affirmed, is laid out on British industry. But was not 80*s*. laid out on British industry before; to wit 40*s*. on the industry of Sheffield, and 40*s*. more on that other place wherever it was, where the consumer chose to indulge himself with something for his money? If so, what is the national gain, but a clear loss of 40*s*. to the consumers of vinous comforts?

If this is not so, would it not be desirable to carry the principle out at once? Would it not be politic to blunt all knives, load all waggons and coaches with a ballast of stones in order to require more horses, decree that all ships for a pound of goods should import another of shingle, and in all ways set about the creation of national wealth which must arise from causing everybody to be paid for twice as much work as needs be? Could there be a more direct way of doubling everybody's business, and by consequence his wealth?

But if there are those who doubt this inference, then it is plain men's eyes are opening to the fallacy of the old commercial principle, and their minds preparing fast for the reception of the new.

London, 20 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Statesman.

No XII.

THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS NOT IN HARMONY WITH THE EXECUTIVE. —ARE THEY TO BE DISFRANCHISED IN CONSEQUENCE?

SIR,—Some extraordinary passages appear to have taken place in the House of Commons, on occasion of Mr. Wakley's motion on the Poor Law Continuance Bill. The minister who said "Refuse the supplies, and you destroy the Constitution!" and supported his theory by hunting the Speaker of the Canadian parliament with light infantry when the parliament ceased to move itself to his satisfaction, has intimated his high displeasure with the mode in which the metropolitan

districts have exercised the right of suffrage conferred on them by the Reform Bill. It is clear he has in his eye a dispensing and regulating power akin to what he exercised in Canada. Does he meditate saying to the metropolitan boroughs, "Return Mr. Wakley, and you dissolve the Constitution!" It will be but a just punishment for the supineness which the majority of their component parts exhibited when the mischief was in the first stage of brewing, if he does. Commend to me the memory of the Westminster elector, who started into the street exclaiming, "Oh! Colonel, we once had some opinion of you, but it is all over since what you have said on Canada." Will this worthy be satisfied, when he has been shown the kind of representative the minister will consent to his electing, and the kind of course his representative must take in parliament, under penalty of seeing the Life-Guards turned out upon the people, and St. Martin's Church destroyed according to the new Russell military code, if it should be the scene of any defence on the part of what the Church in her homilies denominates the "rude and rascal commons"?

The ground assumed by all encroaching governments, in the interval between their meditated treason and the attempt at its accomplishment, is that of the necessity for a dispensing and regulating power, by which, if the representation of the people is not in harmony with tyranny, it is to be made so. Precisely this pretext preluded the Three Days in France. "The representation was not in harmony," and the Three Days were brought on to make it so. The representation of the metropolis is declared "not in harmony" with the wishes of the minister. *When* the Three Days shall be attempted that shall make it so, rests in his own breast, by virtue of his power over the initiative.

The melancholy fact is announced. The metropolitan boroughs do not return the proper men. They return men who oppose the minister; they return men who oppose his New Poor Law. The war is declared between the anti-constitutional ministry and the constituencies which insist on opposing the New Poor Law. Their co-existence is declared, by implication, to be impossible. There has been a disappointment in the Reform Bill; it was not intended that the Reform Bill should send men to parliament who would oppose the ministers and their New Poor Law. And what has disappointed, the next thing is to amend; the Reform Bill must be re-reformed, to make it "in harmony" with the Poor Law Continuance Bill.

If a keen and bitter tongue could have had liberty of speech in that place, to contrast the consequences of the Reform Bill in bringing such members as the metropolitan ones into parliament, with its consequences in the ministers who by dint of treachery and deception have made it their instrument of power;—if a cutting inquiry had been directed to the bottled-up fraud which snapped the lock of a seven years' parliament upon us, and then let out the secret that ministers had always intended the preponderance of the landed interest:—if all the blood, the disgrace, the loss of caste and credit among nations, with which the same ministers have dabbled the robes of the sovereign and sullied the jewels of the crown, had been mustered in sharp review and placed in the opposing scale, how small in the eyes of God and man would have appeared the ministerial sorrows, even though Mr. Grote and Mr. Leader occupy the boards of the House of Commons, and Mr. Wakley rushes to his seat, redolent of the contagion which is begotten of death by famine on the bodies of the poor.

A bold experiment has been made on the metropolitan constituencies. If it is not answered in each by the formation of a club for enforcing a Radical candidate at the next election, one subject of regret will be removed, in the event of any blow against the constituencies of the metropolis the minister may meditate. The insolent metropolis! Send men to vote against the minister's Poor Law! Was there anything at Paris that more imperiously called for the exercise of that high ministerial police, which puts down representation when unpleasant, by the application of musket-shots outside the House, and of corruption in?

For example, what would so certainly lead to a peerage and a pension for many lives, as successfully supporting the minister out of doors, in the declaration that "Return Mr. Wakley, and you dissolve the Constitution!" If three civil wars could not impress upon the minister the sanctity of the Right of Supply, why should the member for Finsbury hope to be hedged by a superior divinity?

London, 26 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXIV.

POLITICAL ECONOMISTS.—SUFFERINGS OF BORDER COW-STEALERS.

SIR,—Could I have had the smallest notion, that when the "Agricultural Labourer of West Suffolk" inserted his letters in a newspaper, he did it with the understanding or desire, that nobody should "make remarks" upon them and nobody should "meddle with" them, he certainly should not have been disappointed through any interference of mine. But it is so common a conclusion, that letters in a newspaper are put there for the purpose of inviting observation and discussion, that a mistake upon this head is certainly among the most excusable of errors.

The truth I believe is, that your correspondent is a little new to the occupation he has so laudably taken up, of endeavouring to substantiate his ideas and communicate them by writing. And the same inexperience probably is the reason of his undertaking so odd a persuasion, as that there could be offence taken at his reply. Writers in controversy, like shears and lawyers, "cut not themselves, but what's between."

At the same time your correspondent has perhaps laid himself open to an imputation of random judgment, when he goes about to depreciate the motives of those who have taken a different side on the question of the Corn Laws from himself. Nobody insisted on his believing, that either the Anti-Corn-Law League or political economists in general, were moved by a simple affection for either the farm-labourers of Suffolk, or what he denominates the worn-out slaves in their factories. I suspect the worn-out slaves in the factories are much on a par with the worn-out slaves in the Suffolk poor-houses; and that if a lot of each were taken at hazard, there would not be much to chuse. The Anti-Corn-Law League in particular, never professed to be guided by any principle but that which guides the "Agricultural Labourer of West Suffolk" to an opposite conclusion;—viz., the sight of the sufferings produced or impending in their own class and neighbourhood, and the belief that these depend upon a certain state of law. But against the political economists in general, even this cannot be urged. Though not so poor as to make their interest in questions of public wealth a joke,

they have no interest that any man can point out, in taking one side rather than another. To take my own case, since I am specified by name;—where is my "individual interest"? I have not a shilling engaged in any description of manufactures or commerce; but I have a county qualification in land. Is it that I have ever gotten anything by taking the manufacturers' side? I expended years and money in their service, and received in return enmity, libel, and abuse. They got it into their heads that I was the friend of the working classes. Had I attempted a quarter as much to serve the landed interest and the aristocracy, I might have been a man with influence and friends, and well up in the list of those the public enemy delights to honour.

When your correspondent cannot see his way to a Repeal of the Corn Laws with justice to the agricultural interest, without a corresponding reduction of taxes, does he mean of taxes which the agriculturists pay in common with other people, or which they pay in excess? When he will point out which of these, an answer can be offered. In like manner if he will state what part of his letter on the Machinery question he thinks was not answered, endeavour shall be made to supply the want. There is no use in general references to short-comings, so considered on one side or on the other. There is often the same difficulty as occurred to the Irish drummer, who found his best efforts all equally unsatisfactory to the adverse party. I remember a man who wrote under an assumed name designedly quizzical and quaint, and then was moved in spirit because I called him "Jacob;" and if your correspondent will briefly state the points on which he thought this writer insufficiently answered, he shall be as briefly replied to also.

If a Repeal of the Corn Laws would bring "misery on tens of thousands of families," that is no conclusive argument, if their continuance is bringing misery on hundreds of thousands of families, and justice is on the side of these last and against the others. In the cow-stealing times, a list might have been made of the sufferings of the families of cow-stealers, in a cold winter and no beef; but nobody would expect this representation to prevail. Besides, a very little inquiry would have shown your correspondent, that his opponent did not even admit that the repeal of the Corn Laws would be the cause of misery to the ten thousands; he maintained that the presence of the Corn Laws was the cause of their misery, indirectly though not directly. He held, what a man might have holden who maintained that cow-stealing was

the cause of the general misery of the country (which likely enough it was), *the cow-stealers included.*

Your correspondent asks, whether a Free Trade will increase the rations of an inmate of a Bastille. A much more important question than that, is whether it will keep people out of a Bastille. There is no use in men objecting to "have their cottages razed to the ground" and to be "hunted into the sea," if they have been standing up in defence of the means which enabled their enemies to enforce these sufferings upon them. Equally useless is it for them to raise an outcry against machinery as injurious to their particular class, when they are at the same time declaring their determination to resist to the utmost the sale of the produce which is the remedy. These are evils which must cure themselves through further acquaintance; and both your correspondent and myself have perhaps some claims as stirrers of the pool.

London, 25 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the True Scotsman.

No. XXIII.

RULE AND PRACTICE OF PUBLIC MEETINGS.—FAIREST WAY, TO ALLOW ALL.

SIR,—There is some difficulty about what ought and ought not to be the rule and practice with respect to Public Meetings; and perhaps it may be impossible to lay down any, to which exceptional cases may not be supposed to arise. But after a good deal of consultation with old and staunch friends of the popular cause, and weighing their opinions and the reasons for them, I think I have seen satisfactory ground for the conviction, that so far as a general principle can be laid down, it should be that all sects and castes of men should have the opportunity of carrying on their meetings for their particular objects, without more of opposition than may be useful to bring out the arguments they have in store. If there is a strong feeling on the other side, then let the strong feelers get up a meeting of their own, and equally enjoy the opportunity of making the best show they can, before the public which may attend where it prefers. The principle concerned, is in fact considerably like that of the Liberty of the Press. Are we to hear all that everybody has got to say; or is somebody to settle who shall be heard and who not? and who is to settle who this somebody shall be? There is little

doubt that the mass of the opinion of all liberal times and countries, would be in favour of hearing all. To *hear*, is what we want; any of us can go without hearing, when we please.

It may be argued that the word Public is opposed to this construction; and that a *Public* meeting implies a meeting where the public is to express its will and its decision. To this may be answered, that this is only a debate on the way in which a word shall be used, and that the real meaning of a public meeting, is a meeting where everybody may be present without being asked his opinions as the test of admission. If indeed it were apparent on the face of the announcement, that the object was to hold a meeting of the friends of a certain measure, and put the proceedings off as those of the majority of the inhabitants of a certain district, the electors of a certain borough, &c., this like all tricks, is to be resisted to the utmost. But wherever an intent of this kind is not apparent, the point of policy, of respectability, and of honour, appears to be to lean to the side of letting the callers of the meeting have their way. If the Dissenters call a meeting against Church Rates, what fairness would there be in the armies of the Episcopalians coming down to swamp them with their numbers? And if the Puseyites of the establishment get up a congregation to descant on the desirableness of making up their quarrel with mother Rome to the extent of taking all they can by dint of it, the protesting tribes would surely do better by getting up their meeting in turn, and canvassing the whole question there, than by entering into a personal contest with the sellers of the souls and bodies of men, in their own seat of exchange, unless called to it by peculiar and imposing circumstances which admit of no alternative. All that is to be said on either side, may be said just as well; and the tendency to avoid personal contest is so much clear gain to both.

There can be no difficulty in seeing that this rule would cut terribly against the conduct which "Reconciliator" so ably rebukes. What would have been said if the cases had been reversed; if the Puseyites for instance had been found rushing to declare, that no Chartist meeting should be held or resolutions come to, before the revenues of St. Sulpice and Maynooth had been made over to themselves?

London, 24 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XVIII.

Caution to Clackmannan and Kinross.

Sir,—The metropolitan boroughs have incurred the anger of ministers, through the improper use they have made of the privilege of representation. Of course the next step will be to try to take it away *à la Canadienne*, unless the hearts of ministers fail them through want of confidence in the Household Troops. The essence of good government, is that the representation be held at the pleasure of the executive; without a temperament of this nature, it would be a power which nobody could endure.

The Reform Bill is a failure; Mr. Wakley is sent to parliament, and he opposes the Poor Law Continuance Bill. No constituencies should continue to have representatives, which send men who oppose the Poor Law Continuance Bill. How much farther the sickle of Re-Reform may be driven, must depend on the necessity; therefore take care that you in the North induce no necessity for cutting you down, by sending the wrong man to the House of Commons. The Tory papers affirm that the representative of Clackmannan and Kinross is on the point of departure, to help to effect the desired deglutition of opium in China; there, therefore, is an occasion for special caution in selecting an acceptable successor. If a metropolitan borough be so taken to task, what would be the fate of a remote member of the body politic like Clackmannan and Kinross?

London, 30 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XIV.

Equal Right of Women to vote.

Sir,—It has often occurred to me, that the cause of the "slave class" will at some time be greatly aided, by an open avowal of the principle of the equal right of women to vote. There can be no doubt of its general tendency to promote the welfare of a political community. Half the follies, half the

brutalities committed by nations, and for which they have paid the price in long arrears of punishment and suffering, would have been prevented if they had been presented to the ordeal of the right-minded and clear-headed women of the land. And when real necessities occur to nations,—as may happen, though nine-tenths of the pretended necessities are mere plots of knaves for some purpose of their own,—women have never been found deficient in the virtues which such times demand.

The only feasible objection which has ever been produced, is the argument from convenience. It is troublesome to have many voters; therefore it is convenient to cut off one-half at a blow. The vanity of man is moreover flattered, by all the wise saws he utters to himself, on the identity of interests between women and their representatives of the other sex. If the identity exists, then at all events no harm is done; but there are strong doubts whether it does exist. The women, who should be judges, are very apt to deny it; and if one side denies and the other affirms, the just inference is only that each side has an interest of its own, which is precisely what is meant by their not being identical.

This argument from convenience, will be found to be of very inferior weight, when the public has had a little more time to look about them and get accustomed to the question. It will sink at once, if it should ever be discovered, that the principle of Universal Suffrage does not require that every soul should vote; but will equally be satisfied if means could be found, for making a fair sample from all the different classes of society actually vote. For example, if it were possible for everybody to try their luck in a fair lottery, and every tenth to vote, it seems undeniable that this would give as fair an expression of the opinion of the community as if it had been taken from the whole. And if there are no means of obtaining such a fair division by the drawing of a lot, it does not follow that there may not be other means by which the end could be secured.

Whenever the popular party can agree upon and bring forward any plan which shall include the equal voting of women, they will not only obtain an alliance of which most men know the importance, but they will relieve the theory of Universal Suffrage from the stigma its enemies never fail to throw upon it, for making its first step consist of a wholesale disqualification of half the universe concerned.

London, 31 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LVI.

The New Poor Law.

Sir,—A powerful journal, the *Spectator*, has taken up the subject of the New Poor Law at the right end. It says:—

'It has come to a struggle between official philosophy and the stubborn will of the millions. But, taken in connexion with the circumstances of the time, the law was not even just. It made a wrong beginning. At the same moment that independence was preached to the poor—that they were thrown upon their own resources—these resources should have been freed from burdens which paralyze and crush them. The law which confined the labourer to reliance upon his own industry, should have been accompanied by a law to remove the taxes on food.'—*Spectator*, 27 March, 1841.

Had the working classes had the genius to perceive this and act upon it, the present state of things would have been impossible. Either (which is perhaps the most probable of the two) the New Poor Law would have been withdrawn; or the prohibition of food must have been removed at the same time. Instead of this the working classes placed themselves at the beck of men, who without imputing more than the common connexion between interests and conclusions, saw in turning the popular fury against the "detestable Poor Law," the means of protecting the Corn Law in which they beheld the prop of the influences which they loved. A fragment of the sound sense which made the olden Radicals of Preston exclaim, "The New Poor Law, if they like to take away the Corn Law too; but no New Poor Law and leave the Corn Law behind!" would have guided the working classes on the point where, in one way or another, their interests must be advanced. But it was their fate to get neither one thing nor the other. The landlords discovered, that if they must keep the poor their Corn Laws made, their plot or the best part of it must fail. So they tried whether the middle classes would bite at the removal of the old Poor Law and let the other remain; and found them perfectly at their disposal. They next felt the pulse of the working classes, and discovered that though they would be easily put upon making a huge outcry against the New Poor Law, there was all the less danger of their connecting it with the only question which would make their resistance formidable. Never had players

better pieces on the board; and the consequence is, that here we are.

The *Spectator* seems to be of opinion, that the energies of the supporters of the New Poor Law are giving way in the ungracious struggle. Their energies will hold out for a five years' renewal; and that possibly will be the period for a serious discussion of the policy of removing the Corn Laws as the condition of a further continuance of the other. If the clasess which suffer by the New Poor Law were wise in their generation, they would take advantage of the present conjuncture for making some approaches towards the Anti-Corn-Law party, whose interest must be strong in cutting down the term.

London, 31 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXIII.

CRITERION OF THE OBEDIENCE DUE TO LAW.—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

SIR,—As everything finally resolves itself into utility (unless a sect can be found who maintain that a thing ought to be preserved on account of its inutility), the question of why laws ought to be obeyed and how far, must be reducible to the same criterion.

No man doubts, that there is great general utility in laws being made and obeyed. There is the same general utility as in the seaman's putting the helm up or down by the captain's order; it is the easiest way of pursuing the useful result of the desired port. But is this utility absolute, and incapable of exceptions? Are there, and can there be, no limitations to it; or is it acknowledged under certain reservations, few it may be and of rare occurrence, but still existing? Everybody knows it is the latter; and that the power of command is acknowledged and submitted to under certain reservations, the clear breach or absence of which would remove the obligation.

To conceal or disguise this truth, has been the trade and business of all the guilds of tyranny that have succeeded one another upon earth; and to uphold and defend it, has been the vocation of all who have received from mankind the name of martyrs and heroes. For it is false that mankind,

though they have had their errors, have substantially attached the name of hero to the successful villain who has by dint of superior physical force executed the business of other villains who directed him. There has always, when the name was permanent, been some recognition of an honest cause, and some intimation that it was virtue and not crime which was intended to be worshipped.

The utility then of obeying laws, always includes a reference, within certain limits, to the laws being such as it is useful to obey. There may be a debateable ground, but there is also a ground which is not debateable. And among the points which the decision of mankind in all ages has most deliberately classed in this territory, is that of the invasion of religious feelings. It is so easy for men to go on in civil society together, without disturbing one another's religious notions;—any advised attack of this kind is so clearly of the nature of the violences which it is the first business of law to repress, and all men agree so absolutely in declaring it when the experiment is tried upon themselves;—that the accumulated feeling of mankind has settled on the belief, that it is against law for law to direct religious oppression; that there is a higher and more sacred law, which controls the law of parchments and of paper; in short that this was always an excepted case, when men agreed to submit to law, or to commit the making of it to any set of practical manufacturers.

Subject the University of Oxford and its representatives, for three months to the payment of Peter's pence, or any other exclusive payment for a creed which is not their own, and view the hurly-burly, the calling upon God and man, which will arise in consequence. Not only are they not to pay for what they have no share in; but to share with anybody, or let other people have the benefit of their own contributions for religious purposes, is to them persecution and oppression. They were born heirs to the power of taking everybody else's money, with a special provision of nature that nobody should take any of theirs.

The more these first principles are turned over and familiarized, the more preparation will be made for acting when the idea of defence on the part of the Dissenters shall cease to be a vision.

London, 31 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXVI.

INVASION OF THE SAVINGS-BANKS.—SMALL THIEVES GO TO THE HULKS.

SIR,—When once a nation stupidly and cowardly gives way to the illegal march of its government, you see how rapidly the evil finds its way to the hearths and homes of the humblest individuals. Here now is every man who ever stored a shilling in a savings-bank, making the discovery that the fund he trusted in, is protected by no efficient law, but is one into which a spendthrift or dishonest minister can put his hand when he likes. The man who after this, puts confidence in the government's pretended savings-banks, deserves all he may ever get.

The truth is there is no medium, between a government of law and a government of none. The weakness of the numerous classes, is always in laying such flattering unctions to their souls, as that they are too humble for this thing to hurt, or for that other to fail to fly over their heads. A compact has been virtually brought about among different parties in the state, for securing the actual governors in the gradual breach and dissolution of all the securities for good government, imperfect as they were, bequeathed to us by our forefathers. One powerful party does it from the avowed dislike to all constitutional restraints, and the desire to reduce government as much as possible to an exercise of arbitrary power. And another plays into their hands, by bargaining for virtual impunity to the existing ministers, as the condition of certain concessions and conveniences to themselves. The reader must be very obtuse, to whom it should be necessary to point out, that the first class are the Tories, and the other the Whig-Radicals. Between these two thieves, the pre-established rule purchased by the exertions of our forefathers, and which men have been in the habit of denominating the Constitution, is practically put to death.

As long as this conjunction of things endures, we are as remote from living under a government of law, as the subjects of the Grand Signor. In fact in Turkey matters are moving in the direction of improvement and public freedom, and in ours the reverse. The grand quarrel of bad gover-

nors, is always with rule and law. The experience of the community, who are the interested at first hand in good government, is always in favour of collecting rules which shall bring the wisdom of long periods to bear upon the passions of the present. For instance, the wisdom of the community has always pointed to the fact, that the power of taking the money of the public should not be conceded without consent of parliament. The cunning of a minister has always been displayed in endeavouring to familiarize the right of picking and stealing to suit his own convenience. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been an apprentice who under strong temptation had dipped his hand into his master's till, though with the fullest design and expectation of replacing it within the week;—or had he been some wretched individual who under the pressure of aristocratical prohibitions upon industry had pawned a fragment of the furniture of his lodgings with intention to replace;—the fury of law would have been let loose upon him, and the pious and the moral would have built their reputations on exposing their sinful brother. Because he is Chancellor of the Exchequer and has only robbed the till of the industrious and the poor, to supply himself with money for dishonest and anti-national purposes it was not dared to bring before the House of Commons till the deeds were done, he will go scot-free, and look for his removal in due season, to that happier lot and portion which is reserved for those who greatly distinguish themselves in the injury of the community. Little thieves and pick-locks go to the hulks: great ones have another destination, where coronets take place of fetters, and ermine stands in the stead of a grey jacket with yellow sleeves.

These things would not have been as they are, but for the outrageous misguidance of the Working Classes; nor will continue much longer, than till they take a turn into the right.

London, 31 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXIV.

Disappointment from the Corn Laws.

Sir,—In the letter of "A Farmer," in your paper of last week, is one part which wants carefully working out and examining. There was always a weakness, if it may be so called, about the argument addressed to the farmers to prove their absence of interest in the corn-laws; arising out of the fact, that there was no denying that a flush of farming business must have been occasioned by the imposition of the corn-laws, and a corresponding diminution be attendant on their removal. So that, though it was not difficult to prove to cool-headed and temperate men, that the benefit of the flush, or the injury from the contrary process, were either of them only temporary, while from the restraint on the industry of the country at large, evils arose which ultimately made their way to the farming class as well as others, and by their permanency outweighed in an almost infinite proportion, either the gain that arose to the farmers from laying on the corn-laws, or the injury from their removal;—yet because men in general are neither cool-headed nor temperate, there was the same difficulty in making this argument available in practice, which there often is in arguing against intemperance, or in favour of submitting to some present privation or suffering, for the sake of some remote but overpowering good.

But your correspondent "A Farmer," starts a new source of disappointment to the farmers who put their trust in corn-laws. He says that the increase in the price of produce attracts fresh capital to agriculture; the result of which is that the landlord screws up the rent, not only to what will take up all the benefit of the rise of prices, but gives a turn further, in consequence of the increased competition which has been brought into the market for farms. The latter part of this may not have been said in the exact words; but it is evidently what was intended.

Now if this be so, it opens a new ground on which the farmers should look about them, and make quite sure they gain by the corn-laws, before they pin their faith upon them.

In other parts of your paper, I observe the progress of plans, on which, as being all with philanthropic intentions, it might be invidious, and I know would be highly unpopular, to make any remarks in opposition. But in all cases of this nature, the danger is of philanthropy expending itself on the external sore, which is only the symptom and companion of the disease within. If, to use an antiquated simile, a population of rats was caged, to breed on a limited quantity of food, there might be an infinity of ways in which a benevolent rat might propose to go about to alleviate or keep down some symptom of the suffering. For instance, if rats, particularly of tender age, were found working themselves to death as the means of settling the division of a scanty pittance, he might propose that youth should be prohibited both from the toil and from the provender. But still a knowing rat would be ever pointing to *the cage*, *the cage*, and asking why the rat fraternity should forego the liberty of forage through the world, if teeth and claws could do their work upon the bars. And though it is likely enough he might be called a rat of one idea, by those who had other receipts for the amendment of the evil, it is probable he would endure the reproach with equanimity, and wait the time when his brethren should have had leisure to find out what hurt them.

London, 31 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XIII.

DISSATISFACTION WITH THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS.—WARNING TO THE SCOTTISH CONSTITUENCIES.

SIR,—Appearances have taken place in the House of Commons, which urgently demand attention in the remotest parts of the empire as well as in those to which the facts were immediately addressed. The minister who was allowed to blow away the Right of Supply with the breath of his mouth when he said, "Refuse the supplies, and you dissolve the constitution," has expressed his extreme dissatisfaction with the metropolitan boroughs, for sending such a member as Mr. Wakley to the House of Commons. There is no use in being mealy-mouthed on the subject of using the honourable member's name, for the attack was of a personality which swept away all such delicacies from the scene. The metro-

politan boroughs have returned a member or members who oppose the New Poor Law; *ergo*, the Reform Bill is a failure; and what is a failure should be re-reformed as soon as possible.

An intimation of this kind is not an empty threat, in the hands of a ministry who have avowed the principle that popular representation is to be put down and altered by military force, whenever it is the interest of a minister and he can do it safely;—a ministry which has already given us the spectacle of one Speaker of a House of Commons hunted by detachments of light infantry for not harmonizing with the ministerial will.

But it is by no means the metropolitan boroughs alone which ought to take the alarm. Whenever political or religious tyranny has eggs to hatch, it is observable that it is always in Scotland the first broods are reared. We in England are so used to this, that whenever we feel the dread of any particular infliction of this kind on our liberties and comforts, we look to see the brawl begun by some part of the hot blood of your northern races, with the *perfervidum ingenium* incidental to their kind. It will especially behove your constituencies, therefore, to be prepared for seeing some movement made, with the aid of the Scottish Tories of the good old school, to curb the licentious wills of voters who insist on sending members to parliament to oppose measures dear to the ministerial soul, after the audacious example of the member for Finsbury in the instance of the Poor Law Continuance Bill.

The ministry are not in harmony with the Reform Bill, nor have been for some time; of course, one or the other must be made to harmonize; and which of the two it is to be, will be the question. Whether the metropolitan constituencies will take the alarm in time, and act against those who have declared hostility to them, is among things to prove; but it need not hinder your Scottish constituencies from taking their measures of preparation for the ministerial "Three Days," which, in one form or other, are probably at hand.

London, 29 *March*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXV.

The Aristocracy, the Middle Classes, and the Poor.

Sirs,—The illustrations you have given of the principle and details of the New Poor Law, point to the radical evil, of men's having law made for them without possessing a voice in it themselves. The knout of the Russian, or the flogging-room of the American slave-master, is not more decisive evidence, than the conduct of the British aristocracy and middle classes, with exceptions only sufficient to impress the general darkness of the scene.

When twenty years ago an impost had been laid on the food and employment of the working classes, by a House of Commons every man of which had taken a solemn oath to having a base personal interest in the question he was to decide;—and after it had been so carried by the interposition of the Life-Guards and other the like exponents of the public mind;—the possessors of the wrong were ready enough to cry out that the Corn Laws were a contract,—that men had been born and bred under the knowledge that they were law, and as such had a vested right to insist on their continuance. But when the question was of taking away a vastly older investment on the side of the wretched and the poor,—one not imposed by the fiat of a congregation of sworn unfits, presuming to decide upon a legislative question after having held up their hands before God and man to avouch their dirtiness, but framed by the simple honesty of distant ages, and fortified by the willing adherence of all but the parties to whom robbery might be a temptation,—not one word was heard of the force of gone-by obligations, or the difficulty of changing relations of ancient date. The aristocracy and middle classes rushed to change when it was on the side of their own pockets and interests, with a velocity which an intelligent people would not fail to work into a precedent when the time for retaliation should arrive. As if to exasperate the irritation, the sustenance of the poor was cut off *because* it was discovered that it was eating into the expected gains of the landed aristocracy from the prohibition upon food. But the landlords judged rightly of the imbecillity of their opponents. Neither the working classes nor the manu-

facturing capitalists had the genius to discern their day. The first, for reasons inscrutable, followed the earliest guides the Tories offered them, to the declaration that though they felt their injury by the Poor Law, they would not avenge themselves upon the Corn Law. And the second, yielded to the temptation of a bird in the hand, in the shape of the savings they saw the instant opportunity of making out of the stomachs of the poor, and thus advisedly abandoned their chance of acting against the primary mischief. And so the community was doomed to one evil, and the poor to two. Hulks, prisons, poor-houses, all turned into places of torment by arts unknown to history and now breaking into fame, attest the skill with which one portion of society will rack another, when that other is unfortunate enough, or foolish enough, to allow itself to be led into, and continued in, the situation of a class which in the celebrated dictum which in the last age passed for wisdom, has "nothing to do with the laws but to obey them."

London, 27 March, 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XXIV.

CORN LAWS, OR CHURCH?—WHAT IS A MINIMUM OF WAGES?

SIR,—The letter of "A Reformer of the People" in your paper of the 3rd, offers some points for observation and reply.

The substance of the letter, if I make no mistake, is to urge that the point is to be attacked on which there is most appearance of giving way, and that this point is not the Corn Laws [which might have been carried if it had not been for the obstinate resistance among the working classes], neither is it Parliamentary Reform [which might be carried if everybody would go with the working classes, and they won't]; but it is something distinct from either, a point which has been unaccountably neglected, which nobody has thought of probing or entering on, one which only wants mentioning to be seen to be much more promising than Free Trade on which we have one-third of the House of Commons with us, or than Universal Suffrage on which we have one-sixteenth;—in short, *the Church.*

But how are you to come at the Church;—supposing all doubt abandoned of its being a desirable point to attack? How but through the House of Commons? And what is the state of the actual sap against the abuses of the Church in the House of Commons? Dr. Lushington's motion in 1837 (which is the latest I have before me) for relieving the Bishops from their attendance in the House of Lords, was supported by 92 against 197. Is there anything so promising in that, as to cause it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet to Corn-Law repealers and Universal Suffragists, that they are both of them in the wrong, and should instantly cease from their labours, and apply their strength to moving heaven and earth against the Church?

There is no doubt that "the men interested in high rents through corn laws are the majority in both houses of parliament." It would be strange if it was not so, when so much pains have been taken to make it so. It is not so very long since the men interested in Negro Slavery were the majority in both houses of parliament; but that made no reason why the attack should be given up, on a question where it was plain that large and influential portions of the community were daily joining. Just what would have been proposed by one who had said "Don't think of putting down the Slave Trade, don't you see it has a majority in the House of Commons? but try your hand upon the Church," appears to be counselled now.

The "Reformer" says, I have laboured much but there is no fruit. So far as what exists may be attributed in any degree to labours in the press, is a third of the House of Commons no fruit? Just as well might the Slave-Trade Abolitionists have been told, at any period prior to 1808, "You have laboured much, but there is no fruit." The fact being all the time, that their fruit was going on, as surely as an October apple was in July and August.

But the "Reformer" says, "the only point of his letter about the corn laws, that called for notice or answer, from me, in justification of my course, was, as to how I could bring the repeal of the corn laws into an association with a necessary minimum of wages, to make that repeal a benefit to the hired working man." To that most essential point, he says, I make no reference for explanation.

I am obliged to confess, that even now, I feel far from certain of understanding what it is to which I am stated to have omitted reply. The point of obscurity in what has been accurately quoted above, is, what is meant by the repeal of

the corn laws being brought into "an association with a necessary minimum of wages." What is "a necessary minimum of wages;" and what is "an association with it?" Till there is more clearness upon these heads, it would be perhaps wasting the time of the reader, to invite him to attend to a reply.

But if, setting aside the expressions in detail, this should have been intended to say, I had evaded the general question of whether a repeal of the corn laws could by any possibility do anything but increase wages, it must have been through some great misadventure or misunderstanding on one part or other, that the "Reformer" should have regretted the want of an answer. For if there is one point more than another, which I have been urgent to impress in season and out of season, it has been that the belief that a removal of the corn laws could fail to be attended with an increase of wages, is as absolute an absurdity as if men should maintain that the less there was to eat the more everybody would get, or anything else of a similar kind which a jocular imagination could invent. If it were proposed to the working classes of a town to shut the gates against corn, on the ground that a scarcity of corn would raise wages, and that the end would be they could buy more out of a little corn than out of a large supply; there certainly ought to be some preparation made in the Charter, for cutting off from the suffrage any men who should have such heads as to agree, unless this is sufficiently done already by the limitation to men of sound mind. And just such folly as it would be to shut the gates upon this plea, it would be to oppose the opening of them if they had been previously shut, upon the dread of wages falling till they gave the working classes no more than they got before. Show me an instance, show me any man who thinks he can find or that there ought to be an instance, of people who opposed the opening of their gates upon this plea. As to the possibility of the working classes falling into the snare of rejecting wages because they were nominally smaller but would buy more, (which might or might not be a concomitant of such a change), I have always avoided making myself responsible for such a libel on their intellects, and have contented myself with affirming, that it would be in vain to attempt to put such a hoax upon the private gentlemen of the Life and Horse Guards. If the "Reformer" has never fallen in with anything of this kind from me before, it is my misfortune rather than my fault.

If the "Reformer" wishes to ask me in conclusion, whether

I do not think the abuses of the church (preserving always the same respect for her doctrinal peculiarities as for those of John Tuam or Mr. Sheriff Solomons) are to be purified by any means the people can find to purify them, I should like to answer him by asking some of the high-church bigots, whether their knowledge of me ever extended to a case of voluntary loss of an opportunity to help along the war.

London, 8 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XIX.

" THIMBLE-RIG " OF RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY.—THE RABBIS AND ENGLISH DISSENTERS.

SIR,—It is plain from various parts of the contents of your paper, that your readers are alive to the absurdities of religious bigotry wherever they are advanced. A curious specimen has just appeared in England, in the shape of the reason given by a professed statesman of the day, why the money subscribed for a general purpose by all the different denominations in the country, should be applied to the service of one sect which is strong enough to rob the rest.

In the debate on the English Poor Law, (*Times*, 30 March 1841,) Lord Stanley is represented as supporting the limitation of the religious instruction of the children of the poor to the teachers of what is called the established sect, " deeming it only fit that the children of the state should be brought up in the religion of the state."

Strip this of the jingle of sounds, and what does it amount to? " Deeming it only fit that the children of parents of all sects, and whose education is to be paid for by the contributions of all sects in proportion to their extent, should be brought up in the opinions of that one sect which calls itself the religion of the state, for no reason but because it is palpable and notorious as the sun at noon-day, that it is the religion of only a portion of the members of that state."

What is there of " fitness " in this? Is it anything but the very " thimble-rig" of religious bigotry? Yet this is the show of reasoning to which a country with the intelligence of England submits; it is safe, and even profitable, to utter such logic in a public assembly; it rallies neither visible contempt nor opposition; the man who says it, passes for an average man afterwards, and nobody thinks much the worse of him for what is done.

O for six months' rule and predominance of the stout old Papacy, to see how these professors of "tyranny avow'd," would twist and twine under the rod when it reached themselves! "Only fit" they would doubtless deem it, that their contributions should be taken to adorn the gorgeous fabric of their enemies. What examples of meekness would they set, how patiently take the spoiling of their goods, how thankful be to Providence for having vouchsafed them this trial of their principles!

In the mean time the English dissenters make no move. They dread nothing so much as movement, lest they should be unable to prevent its connecting itself with the advance of the popular cause. The fact is, they are in the hands of leaders who do all this for them. The leaders of all injured sects, find an interest in the injury. By good husbandry and proper spinning-out of grievances, they contrive to keep up a between-sleep-and-awake sort of contest, just sufficient to keep themselves at the head of an acknowledged party. It is so, for instance, among the Jews; their oppressors build greatly on certain Rabbis, who have declared they do not want to see the Jewish disabilities removed, shrewdly surmising that the Rabbi of a persecuted sect is a more distinguished individual, than if he had sunk into the mere pronouncer of prayers to an assembly of gentlemen in no way differing from others but by the oriental contour of their noses.

These observations are commended to your countrymen, because, as we in England constantly remark that when bigotry has eggs to hatch she sits in Scotland with a view of transferring the brood to us, it seems but fair that we should have some advantage in turn, by communication with that *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*, whose success in deposing religious tyranny has been so much more conspicuous than anything we can boast of here.

London, 6 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XV.

The Children of the State.

Sir,—The proceedings on the New Poor Law present a striking specimen of what it is for men to be taken care of by everybody except themselves. The state passes laws to

prevent the people from keeping their own families. The children of the people who cannot keep them, are the children of the state; and the state has a right to have these children educated in the religion of the state.

Strip this solemn mockery of its outward coating, and see what is left. The aristocracy, to the exclusion of nineteen twentieths of the population, passes laws to put the industry of the people into the pockets of the aristocracy for nothing. The children of the poor hereby become the property of the aristocracy; and the pleasure of the same aristocracy is, to levy a tax on the thousand-and-one sects into which the country is divided, and say it shall be expended in bringing up these properties of the aristocracy, in the creed of the single sect the said aristocracy shall be moved to select: the creed, to wit, which finds their own scions and dependants in emoluments and livings.

Notice first, the entire rottenness of the plea, that because the aristocracy, in pursuance of the interest declared on oath by all who were admitted to the House of Commons, has prohibited the exchange of the people's industry, therefore it becomes the master of deciding in what religious creed the children of the sufferers shall be brought up. By the same rule, if the aristocracy were Turks, they would take our children from us and bring them up Mohammedans. Such an outrage would be held good cause for a revolution in Greece, and why should it not be here?

Notice next, the absurdity of the assertion, that it is the state which does this; whereas it is, notoriously, a body of interested individuals, acting upon an interest hostile to the state, which they have declared to upon oath.

Notice lastly, the "false lie," as was the somewhat redundant expression of our ancestors for what they thought could never be killed too dead, contained in the assertion that it is the religion of the state, whereas it is not even the religion of the majority of the members of the state, but only that of a rampant sect which for the present finds itself possessed of power to rob the others.

It is clear that the experiment is being made, of how far the British people can be outraged in all ways without danger. And the only rational supposition of the final object, is, that it is for the introduction of some great change in the political condition of the community, which shall deprive them of all chance of recovering what they are now so sluggish to defend.

London, 8 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LVII.

"CUT OFF MY FOREIGN TRADE, TO SAVE MY HOME."

SIR,—It would be a singular man who should be found calling out "Cut me off from my Foreign trade, else I shall infallibly spoil my Home." It would be a singular butter-wife, who should be found praying to be hindered from jogging ten miles to a market where she made a penny in the shilling more in what she sold or what she brought back, on the ground that it was destroying the worse market she left behind her. Nobody but the men of acres ever conceived of such an absurdity. Nobody but they, ever had the courage to put it forth and expect anybody else to bite at the bait.

If indeed a man traded in something which was exclusively consumed by the landed aristocracy;—if he was an eminent dealer in dog-couples, or even a whipper-in or a trainer of running horses, it might be conceivable that he might be found running about the country, calling upon gods and men to preserve him his home market. And if he had apprentices or journeymen, it is possible to imagine that they might swell the cry, and "Save our home market" rise upon the breeze, in all the variety of trebles and counter-tenors which delighted our Nimrods of the olden time. But to look for men at Huddersfield, Leeds, or Manchester, who should apply themselves to join the chorus, would indeed be a hoping beyond hope, if experience did not tell us there was no limit to the extent to which the pleasure of being deceived, as of deceiving, may extend.

The skill and science of the supporters of the Corn Laws, are no where so much shown as in their attempts to make men love a bad market. They are to fix their affections on the abstract word *market;* they are to strip off old habits, of inquiring into the qualities which the proposed market is to possess; they are to be taught to love the substantive and despise the adjective; and then the landlord is to step in, and provided it be a market, bar all examination of the bargain which he offers. There was an ancient joke against John Bull, of "a bad peace being better than no peace at all;" but this was but a very little thing, in comparison of the landlord's demand that the bad shall be taken for the good and know no difference.

There is no jesting in the matter. The entreaty of the landowners to the manufacturing body, capitalists and operatives, is simply this, "Do not think of sending your bale of cloth where you would bring home a quarter of corn for it, because that would spoil your chance of getting half a quarter for it from us." There is no attempt to prove that a whole quarter is no better than half a one; no effort to conciliate the prejudices of merchants and dealers in favour of the best bidder instead of the worst; but some expectation is built on the effect of the march of words, and the charm which the sounds of "home market" are to impress upon the hearers. How pleasant is "*home!*" how sweetly Miss Tree sang "There's nothing like home!"—and then "*market,*" how dear the sound to many who have hardly romance enough in their compositions for the other. But put them together and sing or say "*home market!*"—and who is there in Leeds or Manchester that must not follow the landed Ariel through bog and brier, and cheerfully give up his goods to pay the piper for such melting sounds?

London, 8 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXIV.

The World moved by Interest.

Sir,—It really might have been supposed that men in general had enough experience of the world, to know that the ordinary concerns between man and man are not conducted upon principles of virtue, but of interest. There is no use in getting upon the high horse of sentimentality, and trying to ride the doctrine down; the constitution of nature has made it so, and all cavalry will be ineffectual to alter it.

This is not saying, that the commerce between men is not to be restrained within certain rules of virtue; but that not virtue but something else is the spring and source of the whole movement. The husbandman does not rise up early and late take rest, from a purely charitable desire that men may eat; any more than the mechanic who consumes his produce, worked long at the loom out of pure fear lest the ploughman's garment should be shorter than would cover

him. Each if he pleases, may lighten his toil by reflecting on the bountiful provision which causes rain to fall upon the earth that corn may increase, and wool to grow out of the sheep's back that spinners and weavers may have whereon to find employment. But whatever elevation of spirit these reflections may produce, they are only subservient to the grand reason, which is that each man's brow is moistened in order that he may eat bread, and provide other corresponding satisfactions for himself and for his family.

Surely it might have been trusted to for one of the "acknowledged truths," that he who depends upon his neighbours' love and charity, is of all men the most miserable. We are not so perfect, as that we should have been left in this sense to one another's keeping. The working classes will at some time find out, that they are not mendicants dependent on the benevolence of their employers, any more than the employers are on theirs. That there is a less sentimental, but vastly more practically effective bond between them, viz. of interest. That the working classes will never get more than beggars' fare, by complaining of the hard-heartedness of masters who will not keep them at a loss; and it will only be when they have learned the causes which make the whole machine go on together, that they will secure the comfortable action of that portion in which they are particularly concerned.

London, 8 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXVII.

The Horse that learned to live without Food.

Sir,—"Again we are forced, as faithful chroniclers, to report most unfavourably of the state of our market." Such, I see, is the heading of your "Local" news; with reservation of the more ominous heading still, which is made by a list of "Meetings in Bankruptcy" previously displayed.

It is amusing to men who are not themselves personally engaged, to see the odd attempts at an occasional departure from this lugubrious style of announcement. "We rejoice

to say, that long shorts have partially risen. For the whole of the last two days, good fine samples have shown a strong disposition to look up." Such are the sugar-plums of hope and expectation, with which your brother journalists from time to time cheer up the drooping salesman, who is going over the list of places to which he may *not* send his goods with a chance of profit, and applying the process of subtraction to obtain the places where he may.

If the man who proceeded to teach his horse to live without food, had been called upon for a daily bulletin, we should no doubt have seen occasional brightenings-up of the same description. "Again, he would have been often forced, as a faithful chronicler, to report most unfavourably of the state of our horse." But doubtless this would have sometimes been relieved by "Apparently stronger to-day; stood on his legs for three quarters of an hour; shows since morning, a strong disposition to look up." Beyond dispute, we should have heard this; especially if the starver of the horse was making money by it.

Somebody has said, "there is no romance like real life." Assuredly the story of the horse, ought not in Manchester to be romantic.

London, 8 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXV.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.—WHAT SHOULD BE THEIR RULES.

SIR,—Under the circumstance of your attention being drawn to the rules and conduct of Public Meetings or what they ought to be, you will probably not object to a discussion on the subject, although it should have been elsewhere introduced before.

The grand question seems to be, is it best that public meetings should be the instruments for men of every class of opinions to make the most they can of their cause in turn, with no more of opposition than may bring out a lively discussion of the arguments on both sides; or is it that the holders of the true truth should put down the meetings of their opponents if they are able, to the extent at all events of preventing their carrying resolutions, and so secure the progress of sound doctrines and useful principles?

It will occur to many at sight, that this is by no means a new question in the world, but rather is one which has been argued over and over, under slight variations of form, and the holders of one side of the question are at all events found in very bad company. It is the old question over again, of "the true truth;" are those who are quite sure they are right and everybody else is wrong, to act upon their assurance, and to the extent of their power prevent everybody from being heard but themselves? The Inquisition and the representatives of bigotry in the House of Commons say "Yes;" but the small voice of history, aided in time of need by the thunders of the majority of living men, says "No." It is the question which has been decided over and over with reference to the Press; is the Press to be free, or are we to allow nothing to be printed but what is right, which means, what pleases ourselves? Not that the decision has been so frequent or so forcible as to prevent occasional outbreaks in the opposite direction; but yet the aggregate determination of mankind has clearly been, that it was not only for peace, but for the final advancement of real knowledge of every kind, that every man should be allowed his say, subject to the right of every other man to say what he can on the other side, but to bar any man's starting up and declaring he has discovered the propriety of his being allowed to stop other men's arguments by force.

There certainly is a case, which it may be necessary to guard against; and that is, where a meeting should be got up with a visible design to pass off its decisions as those of some other body, distinguishable from the meeting. Where this intent is apparent, it is doubtless to be resisted, like any other trick. But even here, it is better to lean to the side of freedom, and not to act but on a flagrant case. For instance, if a meeting of "the freemen" of Westminster were called by the friends of the Charter, it might by possibility be urged that this was an attempt to pass off the decision as that of the majority of the freemen of Westminster, and that the danger would have been less if it had been called a meeting of "freemen" without the "*the*." But after all, this is a nice fence, by which no man will take much in the end.

If it is argued that every meeting which is called a public meeting, is in fact an appeal to the decision of the public; the answer is, that every man in the case where he is concerned, feels this not to be the fact. If the Chartists were to announce a public meeting, they know that what they mean is, that it is not a meeting where a man is to show a ticket,

to prove himself a Chartist, before he enters; but they would not the more think it fair, if the neighbouring landlords were to send their tenantry for the purpose of crying them down. What a reasonable Chartist wants, is that he and his friends should have the liberty to make the best of their case; without the smallest objection, under the limit of not preventing the general object, to hearing what can be stated on the other side. But to secure this, they must in fairness allow the tenantry also to congregate in such places as may suit them, and there frame their resolutions with no more than the like opposition in return; barring always that they should attempt to publish them as the resolutions of "the united Chartists of Great Britain and Ireland."

On taking the opinions of some of the oldest defenders of the popular cause, and at a period (if I am not mistaken) antecedent to the arising of the circumstances which led to the discussion of the question now, I found their judgment to be what I have endeavoured to set down;—that with the reservation of cases which should be proved exceptional, the general rule for public meetings was the same as for the public press. Allow your opponent to say all for himself he can, and then call another public meeting, or print a book to put him down. But no *imprimatur* on your opponent's books, nor on his meetings either; for if you do, how long may it be before it happens to yourself?

London, 7 April, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XIV.

Difference between taxing Rent, and Manufactures.

Sir,—The mention in one of your late numbers, of Sir Walter Scott's proposal "of taxing the manufacturers according to the number of hands which they employ on an average, and applying the produce in maintaining the manufacturing poor;" followed by "If it should be alleged that this would injure the manufacturers, I would boldly reply,—and why not injure, or rather limit, speculations, the excessive stretch of which has been productive of so much damage to

the principles of the country and to the population, whom it has, in many respects, degraded and demoralized (*Letter of Sir Walter Scott, to Mr. Morrit, M.P. Aug.* 11, 1817)";—tempts me to enter, by way of practice, on an examination of the difference of result from laying a tax on manufacturing industry, and laying it on rent which is *not* industry. And for the greater chance of carrying some reader with me, I will state at once, that the result in prospect is to establish, that a tax on rent is paid *once*, and a tax on industry *twice*, once by the payer, and once over again by somebody else who suffers from the consequences. In short, that there is a process closely akin to those by which the difference of cost in the case of wine which should be produced in hot-houses instead of being bought cheaply by the exchange of British manufactures at Oporto, or in the case of cloth which should be woven by fingers for the purpose of increasing hand-labour through the prohibition of machinery, would be lost twice over by some portions of the community, for once that it would be gained by any others, thus leaving a final balance of loss to the amount of the said difference. All of which is in reality only analogous to the sufferings of a stupid individual, who should insist upon working with a blunt axe instead of a sharp, or fasten his baggage to his horse's fetlocks, instead of the back where the burden will be felt as half.

If a tax is laid on any kind of manufactures,—as for instance if calico were taxed a hundred per cent upon the untaxed selling price,—is there any doubt that the trade of calico-manufacturers, both capitalists and labourers, would be injured and reduced? And if the tax of a hundred per cent, instead of being confined to calico, were extended to every description of manufactured goods, is there any doubt that an injury and reduction would be inflicted upon all? It is true that when the tax was inflicted upon only one, a portion of the injury to that particular trade would arise from the temptation held out to consume some of the untaxed manufactures instead, as camlet in place of calico; and this particular cause of injury would be removed if camlet and everything else was taxed the same. But would the effect of taxing all, be to prevent injury to any? It is surmised the manufacturers will not assent; on the contrary, they will perceive, that if the expenditure of every man's shilling at their warehouses, is to be clogged with the necessity of putting another shilling into a box for somebody else, the effect must be to make a wonderful diminution in the quantity of shillings which will be finally expended on them,

and not the less because the necessity for putting the shilling into the other box might be extended to all kinds.

On the establishment or non-establishment of this point, depends the whole of the future argument. For, supposing it established, the consequence is this.—

If a sum, as suppose a hundred pounds, be levied by taxation from the rent of a landlord, the landlord loses a hundred pounds, and the government takes it. The government expends the hundred pounds, and the landlord does not. It is among possible things, that the landlord would have expended it on the self-same tradesmen as the government does; as for instance, it may be that he would have laid it out with a gun-maker, and the government does the same, with only the substitution of muskets for fowling-pieces. In such a case it seems undeniable that the after consequences to trade in general, would be identical; and if instead of the landlord's expending on fowling-pieces, he would have expended on a coach-maker or any other kind of tradesman, they would be the same in the aggregate.

Compare this with the case where the same hundred pounds shall be supposed levied by a tax on manufactured goods. The consumers of those goods lose a hundred pounds as the landlord did before; and the government takes it. The government expends it, and if it expended it on the self-same traders that the tax-payers would, the consequences to trade would be identical: but if on different, then they are the same in the aggregate. So far then the effects are equal; the tax-payer, be he black or white, loses the use of what is given up for the tax, and the government takes it. But is there, or is there not, a circumstance still behind, viz. the damage which was assumed to arise to the trade of those manufacturers on whose produce the tax was laid? Is this, or is it not, independent and additional to the mere taking of the money from one set of men and spending it for the benefit of another? Is this, or is it not, a source of loss peculiar to taxation on manufacturing industry, and which did not appear when the taxation was laid on rent?

If the manufacturers are wise, they will push this question to an end.

London, 6 *April*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXVI.

REASONS FOR OPPOSING THE NEW POOR LAW.—WHO WERE ITS ORIGINATORS?

SIRS,—I do not believe "the Old Poor Law was of God," except as any other of the acts of honest and sensible men may be referred to Divine assistance. I further feel no doubt, that many practices had come to be authorized under it, which greatly needed checking. For instance, it would be hard to find anybody to maintain, that the rearing of paupers in poor-houses to the third and fourth generation, upon food more costly than fell to the share of the poorer classes of contributors to the Poor-Rates, was not an abuse to be checked. If it is urged, that this was only partial and by accident, then it is true that its actual dimensions were the practical measure of the evil.

But I will go farther, and admit, at the hazard of all consequences to myself, that I was perfectly convinced of the soundness of the arguments by which, on the naked question of a public establishment for the support of the poor, it had been shown that the plan was impolitic, and on this ground above others, that it created the pauperism it professed to relieve. And I have no dread of avowing where the arguments came from;—they came from Malthus, an author who was always right in his naked theories, but sometimes greatly deficient in not extending his consideration to the circumstances by which they were to be surrounded. Take for example his theory of "Population;" a theory which will stand like the Pyramids, if applied to trace the consequences to a population of rats shut up in a cage to multiply upon a peck of corn a-day for the whole be they many or few. But why did he omit to ask *why there should be a cage*, and how it could be got rid of?

With these notions, how came I by a right to muster myself among the opponents of the New Poor Law? Simply for this reason,—that the dispute was *not* upon the naked question; it was upon the question complicated with circumstances which it was intended to conceal. It is one thing to ask, whether in the institution or progress of a society where all men have the chance of supporting themselves by industry, it is politic to prepare a public support for those

who shall fail to do so; and it is another thing to ask, whether if one class of the society has found means to set limits to the industry of the others, and thereby necessitate either ceasing to breed or the rearing up of paupers whom the law does not permit to support themselves, that moment shall be chosen for doing away with an old and accustomed right to public support, and leaving the other behind. The answer to the first question may be right or wrong; but he that gives a wrong answer to the other, can only establish his honesty at the expense of his common sense.

But as I doubt the Old Poor Law being "of God," except in the modified sense formerly mentioned, so I take the liberty to doubt the New one being "of the Devil." I know a nearer source it came from; unless indeed he is always at our elbow. It came from a number of cunning old gentlemen, with neither horns nor tails but what domestic misadventure or ancient fashion might have imposed upon them, who found out that their increased rents from the Corn Laws were being eaten up by the expense of the poor, and that there was no use in their Corn Laws if they were to keep the poor their Corn Laws made. Alas! Sirs, it required no Devil to tell this; it was all within the range of common squirearchal talent, and the only wonder was, that there should be found a people so ignorant as to submit to the infliction, not altogether for want of wrath or courage, but simply through the folly of attaching their cause to that of the rotten Old Poor Law, and refusing to follow those who would have led them upon the true line of defence, which was to attack the extravagance of cruelty that would turn them out of an old house, rotten as it might be, at the same time refusing to repeal the law passed twenty years before for the express purpose of preventing them from finding houses for themselves.

The greatest instance of popular obtuseness in all antiquity, is that the Roman people allowed a law to be passed (the manifest original of our Sturges Bourne's Act), by which the community was formed into tribes which were to have a vote a-piece, and a few score Patricians put into one tribe, and many thousands of the Plebeians into another,—and never seem to have found out the trick. The conduct of the English on the Poor Law, might be supposed intended to supply the modern parallel.

London, 3 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXV.

Attack on the Metropolitan Constituencies.

Sir,—The minister throws in the teeth of the Metropolitan constituencies the suspicions entertained against them, of being likely to send into the House of Commons "men who never should have been entrusted with the power of representing the people." This opens up the question, of whether the representation is a right, or a thing to be *octroyé* by a minister. The assumption of the government of Charles X, that because the representation was not in harmony with itself, it had a right to make it so, was not in principle more dangerous than the one here advanced. The question of whether the metropolis is to be represented and how much, is not to be determined by the numbers of the inhabitants, by their opportunities of knowledge, or the weight their position gives them with the remainder of the country; but it is to be settled by asking whether they are likely to support ministers, or in better words perhaps, whether ministers are likely to accord with the good sense of the metropolis.

It needs no great perspicuity or courage, to advance in point blank opposition to the ministerial principle, that because ministers are not "in harmony" with the metropolitan constituencies, is a reason why the ministers should come down and make way for somebody that is. The wisdom of the ministers is pitted against the wisdom of the metropolis. Examine what each have done. See what the ministers from a small thing have made great; ask what they have built up, what enlarged, what enriched; and take the doings of the inhabitants of the metropolis on the other side. Finally strike the balance, and ask which has the right to be the measure, and which the thing measured; which ought to be the paramount power, and which the subservient agent; which should be the man to be fitted, and which the bed that is to be made to fit.

In this slight incident, it is not difficult to see the taking of another step in the ministerial course. First the Canadian representation was to be brought "into harmony." The metropolitan constituencies, like fools, made no effectual resistance; and now the metropolitan constituencies are to be brought to the same grindstone.

It is scarcely necessary to suggest, that the rural constituencies are now standing in the same shoes, which the metropolitan ones occupied at the beginning of the fray.

London, 31 *March*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XX.

Selfishness of Man.

Sir,—Everybody is selfish, everybody was always selfish, everybody always will be. These are the assumptions upon which any wise man will proceed in political speculations, with as much certainty as he would calculate on all the parts of a machine gravitating towards the earth. We do not want to destroy gravitation, but to make such application to it as shall work out our intended purpose, whatever it may be.

It is simply because men are selfish, that anything in the form of popular assemblies has ever been framed. If it were not so, why not set up a landlord and an ecclesiastic in each parish (as is in fact the *beau idéal* of a considerably influential portion of the community as it is), and say to them, Rule us, and let us so be ruled? It is purely because in three cases out of four, the landlord and the ecclesiastic would run away with all, and leave us starvelings nothing.

If kings were not selfish, why were there ever parliaments? Not truly to assist the monarchical mind with counsel; though that might neither have been superfluous nor insincere. But there was a more decided object far than that, and one which came much nearer home to the hearts and pockets of the concerned. And this was, the keeping the monarchical hand out of the purse, to the limits of what should be endurable by the benevolence of the community. Parliaments were a drag on the monarchical selfishness. Other selfishnesses afterwards arose, to which the monarchical one was but a flea-bite; and these were no other than the selfishness of parliaments themselves. When the members of a parliament passed a law, that no man should be admitted to it who did not swear to a personal interest hostile to that of the community, a new power had been set up, whose little finger was heavier than the loins of the antecedent tyranny to be restrained.

There seems to be no way of counteracting one kind of selfishness, but by setting up another to oppose it; and woe to the man whose selfishness shall have no room to show itself. Favourable as that situation may appear for the cultivation of philosophy, a negro in a slave colony will give the best example of its blessings. No doubt there may have been many a black Epictetus, whose intellects were refined and talents cultivated, by having the least possible quantity of command over earthly goods of any kind. But on the whole, men will be content without attaining to this sublimity. Poor creature as man is when left to himself, he likes to have a little left to play the fool with; and does not readily see his neighbour subjected to the dangers, temporal and spiritual, which arise from taking all and leaving nothing for himself. As Solomon said there was a time for all things, so perhaps he meant to conclude that there was a time for a man to look about him, and exert his innate selfishness, by seeking at least a moderate security for himself.

London, 13 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XVI.

SUFFRAGE BY SAMPLE.—ITS EASINESS.

SIR,—As you have admitted my letter of the 31st of March, on the subject of the voting of women, I will proceed to show that there is an easy way for aiming at "a fair lottery," or one at least which is considered as competent for other public purposes.

There has never been found any insuperable difficulty in registering the ages of all the settled inhabitants of a civilized country. It would consequently only be necessary to confine the power of voting to certain periods of life, and the proposed fair lottery may be practically obtained to any degree of accuracy which reason can be found for desiring. Such a mode of voting might be called "suffrage by sample."

For example, if voting were confined to those whom the registers proved to be between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-two, thirty-one and thirty-two, forty-one and forty-two, and so on, an approximation would be made to the effects of

Universal Suffrage, which would probably be sufficient for all practical purposes. Such a system extended to both sexes, would give votes to something more than a fifth of the number who would vote under what now goes under the name of Universal Suffrage, where women are excluded. For as all who attain the age of thirty-one must at some time have been between twenty-one and twenty-two, and a certain number of persons will have died in the interval between twenty-two and thirty-one, the number of individuals between twenty-one and twenty-two must be more than a tenth of those between twenty-one and thirty-one; and in the same way those between thirty-one and thirty-two must be more than a tenth of those between thirty-one and forty-one; and so on. Whence it follows that all of the classes proposed to vote, are together more than a tenth of the whole population above twenty-one, or than a fifth of the male population above that age.

The principle is capable of indefinite variation, to suit any necessity that should be established. For example, if a fifth of what would be the present amount of voters under what is called Universal Suffrage, would be too many, the number could be halved or thereabouts, by reducing the periods of voting to half a year each. If ages were thought not sufficiently mingled, it would be remedied by increasing the number of periods assigned for the exercise of the vote. If equal intervals between the periods of life assigned were held to throw too much influence into the hands of youth, it might be remedied by shortening the intervals between the respective periods assigned for voting, by one, two, three, &c. years respectively, and allowing a vote to all above a given age as for instance sixty, where the comparative number of voters is so much reduced as to make their numerical influence of very small account. Let men only know what they want, and agree to get it, and the principle is capable of being adapted to it, with apparently as much facility as a coat may be cut for a long thin man, or a short stout one.

I must beg your forgiveness if any of this should be repetition; but it is of some consequence to show, that objections to the principle of Universal Suffrage by both sexes on the score of difficulty, are mere inventions of the enemy when seriously looked into.

London, 15 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LVIII.

TAXATION ON MANUFACTURES, OR ON RENT.—DIFFERENCE OF THE EFFECTS.

SIR,—There is an important point I wish to present for the examination and working-out of your commercial community; and which they will not feel injured by finding to have been contemporaneously put forward in other places and forms.

If taxation for the service of the state is laid upon home manufactures, can your Leeds merchants and traders inform me whether the trade and business of the manufacturing capitalists and operatives are injured thereby? If the tax was laid on one manufacture only, as on calico to the exclusion of camlet, there seems no doubt that the calico manufacture must suffer, if it was only through the degree in which the consumers would be tempted to use camlet in preference. But if, for argument's sake, a new tax of twenty per cent *ad valorem* were to be at this moment laid on all manufactured goods, would the manufacturers in general, capitalists and operatives together, consider their trade injured or not? Is there any reason why the equalization of the tax over all kinds, should prevent injury being felt by any?

I cannot avoid believing, that the annunciation by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of such a new *ad valorem* duty on manufactured goods, would be received with rueful looks at Leeds and numerous other places which might be mentioned. It would be strongly impressed on the tenants of benches in your Cloth Hall, on a *primâ facie* view of the case, that if every man who laid out five shillings at the Hall was obliged to put another shilling into a box for somebody else, this must in the end tell wonderfully upon the business done; and this without reference to whether other Halls were subject to the like imposition or not. The business done might or might not be diminished in the exact proportion of five to six; but that it would be diminished, and that most seriously, is what I suspect the Chancellor of the Exchequer would never succeed in removing from the minds of the concerned. The degree in which it would be diminished would apparently be the same, as if a necessity

for raising the price to the same amount, arose from a failure in the natural sources from which the raw material is drawn.

This then is the first step on which I wish to ascertain the judgment of your public. But if the decision should be that there is a loss, call that the loss *A*, and let me proceed as follows.

Is it not a necessary inference, that if a tax is levied upon rent, it is taken *once*, but if it is levied upon manufacturing industry it is taken *twice*, or at all events *more than once*. We will not stand now on the question of whether the second loss is exactly equal to the first over again; though it might not be a bad guess which should surmise it would be ultimately found so. But for the present, to prove the *second loss*. And here look sharply to see there is no shifting of the balls; for as it is by legerdemain of this kind the adversary will seek to oppose, it is of the more importance that our own course be clear.

If a certain sum, as for instance a hundred pounds, is levied by taxation upon rent, the landlord loses the use of it, and the government gains it. Each equally expends it; it is among possible things that they might expend it on the same tradesman, as for instance on a gun-maker, with only the alteration of muskets instead of fowling-pieces; in which case it appears undeniable that the results to trade in general would be identical, and consequently the difference be null. And if instead of the government's expending it on the same tradesman or on the same kind of trade, it expends it on some others, it appears as clear as before, that the difference to trade in the aggregate must be null.

Take now the case where the same hundred pounds should be levied on the consumers of manufactured goods, through the instrumentality of a tax on manufactures. As before, the consumers lose the use of a hundred pounds, and the government takes it. And as before, the difference to trade in the aggregate, of whether the hundred pounds was expended by the government or by the people out of whose pockets it is taken, must be null. So far then, the consequences are the same. But is there not something more behind;—the loss to trade and manufactures which it was agreed to call *A*? And if there is, then this is the *second* loss, and a tax on rent is taken once, and a tax on manufactures twice, or at all events more than once; which was the thing set out with.

And if we inquire further into the reason for this difference,—well worth the notice of a Chancellor of the Exchequer who had the same reason for putting the country to one expense instead of two, which a smaller accountant would feel in corresponding circumstances,—the cause which at once presents itself is, that manufactures are industry, while rent is not industry but an impost upon other people's industry. All that is ever paid in the shape of rent, is over and above the price necessary for raising the products of agricultural industry concerned, and is paid out of the pockets of the consumers in consequence of the limited quantity of the supply. A tax on rent therefore is taken once, out of the bag of the rent-collector, and there an end. If the same tax is levied on the consumers of the products of industry, there is the effect on industry besides.

If all this is proved of taxes upon industry, will it not equally hold good of taxes on the industrious? And is not the final result to show, that no wise nation would allow any tax to fall upon industry or the industrious, as long as it could be made to fall on rent, which is not industry, but a levy on the industrious?

If the public at large should ever become convinced of this, it will be nuts to crack for that portion of society, who have prohibited trade and industry through the contrivance of excluding all who do not swear to a pecuniary interest, from the House of Commons. And it may be, that in the existing state of the struggle which is going on, there will even now be some among your readers who will see the bearing of the question.

London, 15 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXV.

Letter of "No Free Trader."

Sir,—I am exceedingly sorry that the letter of your correspondent "No Free Trader," should have "been postponed three or four weeks through a pressure of other matters;" because it affords a most useful opening for debate.

The "mal-reasoning" in "No Free Trader's" proposal that the framework-knitters should expect relief from causing the masters to "lay the profits on the goods they sell instead of extorting it from the distressed workmen in the price of frames," and leave the prohibition on the sale to take its course,—is (without entering on the question of whether the masters do anything purposely to annoy the workmen or not) that it amounts to saying, "Wink at the prohibition of your trade altogether, and then see if you cannot recover the consequences by quarrelling with the masters about the mode in which they shall try to save themselves." The truth is, the masters know full well, (and if "No Free Trader" does not, it is only a proof of the impolicy of setting one class of men to manage another's business), that if they laid the profits on their sales they should diminish the amount sold, and so the attempt would be null. Accordingly, being stopped in this direction, they try the other; and if anything can be got by increasing the rent of their frames, they do it. I do not hear that the masters have got any Act of Parliament to increase frame-rent. I do not hear that they ever made it unlawful for any man to sit in parliament who did not swear to an interest in raising frame-rent. The workmen, or such as follow the counsels of "No Free Trader," first put themselves into a situation where the masters must either screw them to the uttermost or keep them out of their own pockets, and then think to repair the evil by requiring the masters to do the last.

I should like to know how many pairs of coach-horses are kept by the hosiers in Nottingham, how many nails there are in all their shoes, and how many bankruptcies have been among the hosiers for every nail. Supposing the fact to be that some hosiers, after all, keep coach-horses; they have at the very worst, not gone to parliament to make a law to force the men who use the frames to pay a higher rent than they can get them for elsewhere.

When a great "oppression" is to be maintained, the most effectual way of doing it, whether by design or not, is to get up an outcry of another oppression somewhere else. If the rats in a cage were stocking-makers, the best thing that could be done for keeping them from resisting the master oppression which sets them all starving upon a limited quantity of food, would be to persuade the workmen rats it was all the fault of the master rats, and so put them on trying their teeth on one another, instead of the cage which is the foundation of the

mischief. And if a rat wrote a letter to his fellows on the question, he might likely enough be told that it "seemed to be nothing but winking at oppression, and endeavouring to justify a system of the greatest extortion ever practised in a Christian country." Simplest of created rats, and fit only to be trapped and kept there, first go about to remove your cage, and then there will be an end of whining about extortion which cannot be practised on you afterwards!

On your correspondent's intimation that he thinks I may be the paid scribe of the Anti-Corn-Law Junta at Manchester, I can assure him that from that quarter I have got, to use a proverbial expression, "more kicks than halfpence." Any assistance that may have been had from me, has been very gratuitous as far as my recollection goes. But I cannot see your correspondent's description of them appended as "formed for the purpose of reducing the price of labour throughout the kingdom," without strongly expressing my doubt whether (saving always the case of your correspondent) there is one man throughout the kingdom who sincerely and innocently believes, that to increase the quantity of food for labourers to eat, would be to reduce the price of labour throughout the kingdom. I can believe in a man's starting this for the sake of trying who would be taken in by it, or some other purpose of his own. But (saving always the reserved case mentioned,) I do not believe in the existence of any man in the working classes, feeble enough to harbour the opinion in his own pure brain. For the extraordinary mortal that should do this, must equally believe the converse, namely that artificially to reduce the quantity of food would be the way to give the working classes such wages as should buy them more out of the small quantity than out of the great. It is getting "too bad," there must be an end of this kind of hoaxes; the working classes are too much depressed already, to afford the circulation of this sort of libel on their gifts and graces.

Your *other* "correspondent" has certainly "the vanity to think," that he shall turn out right in his belief that in a very few years there will be no more of the working classes who will not petition for the freedom of trade, or who will be the dupes of the fallacy which tells them to bar out the outside corn as the means of keeping up the "labour market" inside the cage,—than there will be who have tails hanging behind. "No Free Trader" must excuse me for making

him fully aware if he was not before, that I have no more belief in the possibility of the working classes being persuaded to fight for their cage, either with the idea of keeping up their "labour market" inside, or for fear of reducing their wages to the level of anybody here or anywhere,—than I should have had in the possibility of persuading the negroes in the West India islands to resist the offer of freedom, on the ground that they knew it was only a trick of the parliament and people of England to get more sugar out of their toil.

As there is little use in point-blank assertion, or contradiction either, I will only observe on your correspondent's declaration of the "fallacy," "folly," &c. of Free Trade,—that it has to meet the argument founded on the statement, that trade which is *not* free, means buying the dearer article when you could buy the cheaper, and that every man who does that when he can help it, falls into the snare of throwing the difference of price into the sea, without any advantage in the aggregate to trade and commerce of any kind to balance it.

If "No Free Trader" wishes for a repetition of the often given proof, he has only to make an intimation of his desire.

London, 15 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXVIII.

"Huntite Radicals," wiser Men than their Successors.

Sir,—I wish the "Huntite Radicals" would reduce to reason their successors who want, according to the Spanish proverb, to have "better bread than is made of wheat." Those who bore the heat and burden of the day, in times when it really cost something to be a friend of reasonable liberty, must be sore grieved to see, that when some of the objects they inscribed upon their banners were apparently within their reach, the attainment should have been put off by the refusal of "Judah or one whole tribe" to take possession of the towers of the Philistines, on the plea that there were other towers behind and they meant to take them all at once.

I should like to know whether there is an instance in human history, of this sort of policy being successful. It is directly contrary to all that human experience has established in one great scene of experiment, war. The jest of military writers, is some ancient general of I think the Austrian school, who refused to attack an advanced division of the enemy, in order, he said, to have the chance next day of beating them all at once. It is equally opposed to the more constantly-recurring theory, on the question of whether in a siege the citadel should be attacked first or the outworks. It may perhaps be barely possible to devise an instance where it would be as easy to attack one as the other; but it must always be limited to the case, of the citadel being distinctly capable of being carried by present attack. In any other circumstances, to propose to attack the citadel merely because its occupation would ensure the occupation of everything else, would be the counsel of a greenhorn. In the present instance then, have the desirers of the Charter the smallest visible chance to carry their citadel now? Can they show any progress they are making, or likely to make, beyond what may be conveyed in the assurance, that if the thing is ever to come at all, they are nearer than when they began? Or have they not done everything which men could do, to excite the fierce and rouse the timid against them, by the point-blank declaration that their object is to get at one blow such an increase of power to the unrepresented classes, as shall enable them to ask nobody's leave to do everything they want.

There is no doubt a certain expenditure and effort, which if it can be brought to bear, will take a fortress, citadel foremost. But in most human struggles, the question is, not whether there is a certain power which would effect the end, but whether the power *which we have* will do it, and how it will do it easiest.

You will perhaps think with me, that considerations of this kind, must have their effect in time.

London, 15 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXVI.

Mr. Gally Knight on the New Poor Law.

Sir,—Though not anxious for lightly engaging in a controversy with an opponent like Mr. Gally Knight, nor for the reputation of interfering with what was no concern of mine, I hope my previous contributions to your journal may excuse me for summing up my dissent from your able correspondent, in the hope that "the good sense of the country will *not* decide in favour of the New Poor Law," till it has first decided in favour of every man being allowed to support himself without the law.

Give us a fair chance to support ourselves, and then we will listen to all that shall be urged in favour of the advantages of every man being obliged to "trust to his own resources." But do not cut up our resources by the roots, for the sake of adding a fraction of the amount to those who are rich enough to live without labour already, and chuse that moment to lecture us on the propriety of living on the resources which are not allowed us.

Here lies the pith of the dispute; and if the working classes in general had not known as little of the subject as a cow does of a musket, nobody could have forced the enormity upon them. There is no doubt of the desirableness of training the working classes to habits of providence, sobriety, and industry; and no objection to leading them, through these, to independence. But the reformation should have begun at the right end and not at the wrong. There is no sense in destroying a man's visible means of support, and setting two-thirds of the country in a flame of discontent in consequence, and then stating the convenience it would be to the landed gentry who have confiscated the poor man's industry for their own pecuniary profit, if they might add to it the refusal to keep the poor they make. It is insanity, either on the part of those who proposed, or of those who shall allow. In which quarter the defective or redundant bump is to be found, phrenologists will gather from the issue.

Suppose the case of some of the ancient mariners, close pent in ribs of ice in the Arctic Seas; and imagine a "tee-totaller" to have chosen that moment to impress upon the crew, in contradiction to all their previously formed

opinions and habits, that this was the period for committing themselves to the comforts of ice-water and decoctions of roasted peas. And take the further step, of supposing that the commander, Hudson or Phipps, had undertaken to enforce the theory by the exercise of his authority, and back the new light by the application of handcuffs and the rope's end to the resisting sinner who longed for grog like his fathers before him, and whose soul loathed the "sunkets" provided for him by official wisdom in its stead. Could human folly have gone further? A doctrine might be good, if preached at Spithead with all the invitations of coffee and bohea from a string of floating grocers lying alluringly alongside; and rash beyond expression, if impressed by force under the circumstances which were the last the suffering parties would have chosen for the experiment.

To descend from metaphor, the history of the New Poor Law was always this. The landed interest confiscated the industry of the country by the prohibition of foreign food. They were told by the political economists, that this would be of no use to them, because they must keep the poor they made. Whereupon the landlords turned round, and asked why, having the power of making all law by making every man swear to a pecuniary interest before he could be a legislator, they should continue to keep the poor? They acted on clear perception enough; it is only to be regretted there should have been so little to encounter them.

London, 7 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XV.

The Devil's Joke.

Sir,—Allow me, without claiming more than a hearsay acquaintance with the formidable personage alluded to in the leader on the Poor-Law debates in your paper of the 1st, to suggest an alteration in the point on which the "prince of many-throned powers" would expend his grimmest smile. That Noble Lords may feed their hounds as highly as they please, he would see no joke in, provided it was true that as Lord John Russell believes, "that with which they feed them was their own." But the devil would be a devilish deal wiser than that; and he would grin to think, that they fed them

with the crumb, and the crust too, of the children's bread. The ridiculous part in the conduct of the classes interested in the provision for the poor, and at which anybody may laugh besides the devil, is that they tamely see the aristocracy taking away the food from their children for its hounds, and wink with all their might at the connection between the facts. Anybody's counsel, or none, has been enough to put them upon saying the thing shall be, because they will have it so.

The poor in the union workhouses must be fed sparingly, because they are fed out of some ten per cent on what the aristocracy, like insolent thieves, have taken from a stupid community which allows them. In this is the sting and the misery. O Lord, O Lord, not to speak it profanely, if it would please Thee once again to put clay upon the eye-lids of the blind, and for the space of one half-hour confer the blessing of sight on a benighted people, how little danger would there be of the evil's continuance or of its repetition!

Queens must have horses, and horses must have stables; oats too, yea oats, and that at no pinched allowance either. A prince also must have wherewith to sustain nature,—*le pauvre homme*. Grumble not at these things, but rather rejoice that an ignorant aristocracy, who are the real managers, have played their cards so bunglingly as to make the things into sources of irritation, all favourable to you and against themselves. But try to obtain and to spread the acute feeling of these facts, —that the poverty which complains, is the *creation* of the aristocracy, which has taken away from it the power of keeping itself, in order to swell the plunder of the tyrants of the soil; —and that what is to be wrested from the poor by cruelties unheard-of in any former age or country, is a fragment of the tithe of what the rich have made out of the pillage of the national industry, and the plunder of the national wealth.

London, 12 *April*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXVI.

THE NATURAL AND UNNATURAL SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE.—DISTINCTION BETWEEN THEM.

SIRS,—Too much can never be done, to impress in season and out of season, the images and feelings conveyed in the extract from your co-labourer of the *Leeds Times*, in your paper of the 6th. But always weigh heaviest upon this

point,—that the distress, the agony, the woe, are the results not of the natural concomitants of human life, but of a distinct organization of law to that effect made and provided, as the means of placing a greater portion of the labour of the poor at the command of the sworn interested law-makers.

When we view the spectacles of misery so forcibly described, let us always summon the reflection, that these are not the consequences of the primæval curse which destined man to toil or worse suffering during his residence on earth,—nor are they contained in the most undeniable of all assumptions, that "the poor we shall have always with us." They bear precisely the relation to these facts, which murder, wholesale or retail, does to the truth so gravely cited by Justice Shallow, that "death is certain to all." There is a natural suffering, and there is an unnatural; there is one sorrow at the hands of Almighty God, and another sorrow of the landlords, and the proportions between the two, are almost in the inverse ratio of the magnitude of the willers.

To go over it again,—we are not grieving over the fact that every man, woman, and child, must at some time or other be brought with pain and lamentation to the grave. We are not rending our garments nor our hearts, because among the chances and changes of this mortal life, there must always be some who either through defect of conduct or of fortune, will find themselves disappointed in their plans for honest success, and be bound to submit to the ills of poverty or the still greater ones of dependence on the charity of their fellows. But we are bowed to the earth with the thought, that in this country so full of piety which is of no use, and of knowledge which settles the anise and cummin of Greek accents and omits the weightier matters of the law, there should be a distinct organization by legislative enactment, regular, long-debated, premeditated, for raising and "killing-off" a population of the poor, in order that as they come in succession like the grains of coffee to the grinders in the coffee-mill, a pleasant flavour from their destruction, like that which saluted the nostrils of Jupiter from a sacrifice, may meet the organs of the tyrants of the soil, in the shape of increased rents created out of the oppression of industry and commerce.

It is not that such things are; it is that such things are done on purpose. It is that we have them done by regular human organization. God willed it not; the Devil did not think of it, or at all events there are no traces of it in his history. The mixture of darkness and evil which made up

the intermediate thing called man, was the only hot-bed in which could be concocted such a fungus, as a legislative assembly administering an oath to an interest against the public, and being quietly allowed in the possession of its prey.

London, 10 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXVI.

DANGERS OF A FREE TRADE IN CORN.—DOES NOBODY GAMBLE NOW?

SIR,—The letter of Mr. Charles Poppy in your paper of the 3rd, intimates the intention of the writer on a future occasion to "show the danger of a free trade in corn without an efficient duty to place us on an equal footing with the foreign growers, and protect us from the ruinous effects of gambling speculations in corn, and from mal-practices of the dealers in corn on both, or either side of the water."

Though it may be dangerous, there can be nothing unfair, in endeavouring to anticipate the reasoning by which these positions will be upheld. And if there is anything beyond what is anticipated, the way will be still open to further reply.

"The danger of a free trade in corn without an efficient duty to place us on an equal footing with the foreign growers," will almost certainly be founded on the principle, that because we can get an article cheap and easily by foreign commerce, *that* is a reason why we should immediately set about inventing a way to prevent ourselves from getting it cheap and easily, and the most effectual way of doing this, is to find out people at home who by reason of the disadvantage of climate or other causes can produce the thing neither cheap nor easily, and then impose such a duty on the "cheap and easy" as shall force us to buy the "dear and uneasy" instead.

The proof that it was in the intention of your correspondent to advance this, is apparent in the foundation he has laid, by establishing the awful fact, that corn might be had in London for 43*s.* a quarter, if pains were not taken to make it more. If he should be induced to change his mode of advance, science can only be the gainer.

But there is another danger pressing on us, and driving us

upon the necessity of begging to be indulged with the dearest corn; and that is, the peril of "gambling speculations in corn." Now supposing the probability of gambling speculations where there were no such things before, to be absolute and undenied, there still appears to be a resemblance to the proposal of Cowper's ram, who thought

> ——————————— 'it fit,
> Our lives to save, we leap into the pit.'

Let gambling speculations do their worst in making the price of corn sometimes high and sometimes low, we may lawfully doubt whether we ought to rush into the pit of constant high prices as a defence. If the gamblers would sometimes make the price a little more moderate, it would in many places be taken as a favour. But any asserted danger from "gambling," is no more than may be applied to any branch of commerce, agricultural, manufacturing, or water-borne, by its enemies. By gambling is meant, a rival's undertaking a speculation of which none but a prophet can absolutely foresee the ending. In this sense, the merchant is a gambler, when he commits a cargo to the deep, which may go to the bottom before it gets round the North Foreland. "Gambler" is what Jeremy Bentham would have called the *dyslogistic* phrase; when the merchant is among his friends, he is complimented for being a "bold adventurer." The farmer is a special gambler, when he commits the seed to the soil, without knowing what slugs may corrupt, or waters break through and carry away, or how prices may have varied before he can dispose of his expected crop. Your correspondent must bring more proof, than the terrors of the gambling which would arise if he was not there to hinder it, before he persuades the community at large to rush into the pit of dear corn for protection.

But besides this, *does* nobody gamble now? What are the imposers of the Corn Laws, but gamblers of the rudest order, —men putting to hazard their own peace and safety, to say nothing of the well-being of the rest of the community, for the expectation of advantages which, after all, turn to dust and ashes in their grasp, and leave them in a state of continual complaint and crying out "Give, Give." A lout playing at pitch-and-toss, where by some malice of the enemy his heads should all turn tails and his tails heads according as it would disappoint his call, would be something like a representation of the gamblers with whom we are already abundantly afflicted.

The same questions may be asked on the threat of "mal-

practices of the dealers in corn." Have we not already got the worst of possible mal-practice,—what we would gladly exchange ten times over with all that anybody can produce on the other hand? The mal-practices of the dealers in corn, we say on our side, already shut our ports, stop our looms, silence our hammers, which the landed sentimentalists feel to be an ugly noise, hostile to rural innocence and meditation sweet. Our longing desire is to be made acquainted with the mal-practices on the other side, as little Jacob was with oysters; nothing doubting, that with the least trial in the world, we should come to like them vastly.

London, 8 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XXI.

LETTER OF MRS. CHAPPELSMITH.—CO-OPERATIVE BAZAAR.—THE CHANCES AGAINST IT.

SIR,—If it is in no shape inconvenient, I should be glad of an opportunity of inserting in your pages some reply which I was desirous of making to the letter of Mrs. Chappelsmith in a contemporary, the *True Scotsman* of 20th March 1841, which, since the period, has ceased to appear.

I gather from the letter of Mrs. Chappelsmith, that I was wrong in believing the Gray's-Inn-Lane Bazaar in London to represent, at least to any great extent, the co-operative system. It is stated to have been merely an attempt to teach equitable principles of exchange, from seeing them in practice.

I was not aware before, that the ground on which preference was claimed for the Gray's-Inn-Lane Bazaar was, that the proceedings there were more *equitable;* I thought it was, that they were more *profitable.* A man with a waistcoat to spare, but who is short of shoes, had always the option of selling his waistcoat for what anybody would consent to give him, and buying shoes with the smallest portion of the produce which anybody would consent to take; and I thought the Bazaar was merely a proposed method for effecting the exchange, by bringing the goods of the buyer and seller into one apartment, securing various savings of time and trouble in this and other ways, and dividing the value of them between the parties.

And I most vehemently suspect, after all, that to this it will come, both with the Bazaar, which it appears was only a branch, and with the main body of the plan, which "consists of buildings conveniently arranged, with large areas of land within and without the square, for the production and rearing of food." Both one and the other is a proposal for setting up a new method, of doing by the *union*, what mankind have hitherto done by the *division* of labour.

This plan has assuredly as good a right to be tried, as any other that ever was set up in the world. But if debate be entered into to prove the probabilities of success, this inevitably involves the hearing of the arguments on the other side; and all that these arguments go for, after all, is to persuade the doers to set about the work with the caution required by an attempt which has danger in it, and not to plunge themselves into more serious risks upon the subject than can be avoided.

It is the easiest thing in the world, to say there will be this, and we shall make an economy in that. All planners say so, and think so too; and yet nine out of ten break down. Some reason or other starts up, why the thing that was to be does not come to pass, and why the expected economy fails; and tenfold caution is required, when there is reason for apprehending that the course proposed to be followed has been actually unsuccessful over and over, through causes within the experience of the masses of mankind, or what at least they take for such.

There seems little doubt, to take an experiment on the smallest scale, that almost any two families, by agreeing to occupy a common house, and have a common cookery and common work-shop, and pass their leisure moments in working in a common garden, might make numerous savings, which could be applied either to increase the comforts of the inmates, or to diminish the toil. Why then does not this obvious fact produce its effects in every street? Simply because there are principles in human nature, which have made everybody who has tried it give it up in disgust. If two old maids, not being near relatives, have ever lived in harmony in such a state, it is trumpeted about as a wonder, to which the friendship of Damon and Pythias was as nothing; and if it be difficult to keep two individuals or families in this kind of combination, still more is it to keep three or four, or any greater number.

And if the plan in practice breaks down on the ground of disagreeableness, so does it, when carried far enough, on the ground of economy. The reason why the chandler passes

his life in handling soap and candles, and the green-grocer endures the smell of perpetual cabbage-stalks, and onions without ceasing,—is because it has been discovered, that economy is not in every man being his own chandler and green-grocer, but in one man undertaking to exercise these duties for all, and receiving in return a slightly increased share out of the general saving which arises. The great peril and risk of the co-operative system, lies in the circumstance that it is a retrograde movement, where the practical experience of mankind has already settled the contrary to be the advantageous one. Take the proposed farming operations of the co-operatives. It has been proved in farming as in everything else, that large concerns committed to the wit of one head, in the long run beat out of the field both the smaller concerns, which are entrusted to separate heads, and still more the concerns of any kind or magnitude which are entrusted to a council. This may be a misfortune or not, but it is not the less the fact. It has been tried upon the waters since the days of Noah, and it has been proved to the satisfaction of most if not of all, that though there have been innumerable drunken and incapable ships' captains, navigation is better carried on upon the whole, by taking the chances of a captain, than by taking the chances of a co-operative crew.

In short, it has been decided by experience (saving always what the co-operative system may do towards undoing it), that what is *dyslogistically* (as Jeremy Bentham would have termed it) called, "feathering their own nests in the shortest possible time," is the only motive which, in the long run, will induce men to undergo the "rising up early and late taking rest" which leads to success; the tendency of which is, that this is the horse which will win, and that "Co-operative" will be in the rear.

Is there anybody who has not felt in himself the combat between weariness and exertion in his proper calling whatever it may be, and been conscious that the struggle was a hard one; and yet, on its being carried in favour of exertion, depended whether he should conduct his business creditably and advantageously or not. A modern writer has introduced a shepherd's boy personifying this spirit of inactivity under the style and title of "Lawrence;" the boy said, "Do'ee, Lawrence, now let me turn the sheep out of the road," but Lawrence held him fast. In all contests between a co-operative and "Lawrence," the lubbard fiend will be as strong as ever, but there will be only a hundredth or a thousandth part of a reason, to urge against him in return.

Without rigid reference to the degree in which these views may have met those of yourself or constituents, you will perhaps not object to giving me the opportunity of testifying my respect for any speculations proceeding from the source in question.

London, 20 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XVII.

The Moral Condition of the People, dependent on their Political.

Sir,—On the question whether "the moral is dependent upon the political condition of the people, or the political upon the moral," the answer would seem to be, that each depends upon the other. To show that this is no absurdity, the question may be put whether "what a man gets to eat depends upon his strength to labour, or his strength upon what he gets to eat?" Where it is clear that the mutual dependence is of the same kind.

That men who are morally rogues, are likely to be politically so, is a proposition of which the disproof may be thrown upon the adversary. And for the converse of it, that political misgovernment has a tendency to multiply immorality, the proof is above, and below, and round about us. Why are the hulks filled with prisoners, the penal colonies overflowing, and new "cruel pieces of torment" as the Warder in the Tower phrases it, invented daily to increase the misery of our prison-houses, but because the classes who make the law, frame it for the obtaining of their own ends, at any expense to the happiness and morality of the millions at their mercy? To make a country unhappy is the grand recipe for making it immoral. Morality, is the rule which in the aggregate creates the greatest quantity of happiness; and like things of which the poets speak, it "grows by what it feeds on." Let the members of a community see that their attempts at industry, sobriety, and regularity, are rewarded by obtaining a comfortable maintenance for themselves and families, and all domestic virtues multiply and increase. Let it be discovered on the contrary, that their efforts are thwarted by the operations of their political governors, and there immediately arise

recklessness, despondency, and crime. Men must have something to employ them, for good or evil. If the lord refuses to allow the peasant to get a day's brown bread for a day's labour, why should not the peasant take to the lord's pheasants in its stead? If legitimate children are to be reared only for the poor-house, why should not young men and maidens take all the chances which promiscuous intercourse can afford?

In spite of the efforts of politicians, the world is growing in morality under their feet. And a consequence of this at some coming time will be, a rising-up of the morality of the governed against the contemptible wickednesses of their governors; a sort of revolution which will be attended with as root-and-branch consequences as any which can be pointed to in history.

London, 15 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LIX.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AND DEAD DISSENTERS.—PROPOSAL FOR A COMPROMISE.

SIR,—The boldness of the sect which calls itself the Established, increases, as is natural, upon the submission of its vassals. There is a tide in the affairs of men, of which the cessations either way are momentary and scarcely demonstrable; and because the current of religious freedom is not, and has not for a long time been going forwards, it is of necessity on a backward course.

The last invention of the encouraged tyranny, is the setting up a parallel to what in law were called *constructive* treasons. It is not enough that no overt act of hostility to the victorious establishment has been committed, or that there has been no open enrollment in the opposing ranks; the jealous conqueror demands a power of determining guilt from mental inclinations, and as the means to that, the right of taking cognizance of the meanings of the soul. As in the time of the two last Stuarts to *intercommune* with a traitor was treasonable, so in the modern law ecclesiastical, to intercommune with a Dissenter is to dissent, and punishable with inflictions on the living body or on the dead, at the discretion of the priestly arbiter who feels his passions moved

to vengeance. If it be asked what is *intercommuning*,—to let a house or room to a Dissenter has been determined to be intercommuning. Still more, to see a daughter marry him, and not to commit suicide; for it seems impossible to say by what other personal act the guilty could wipe away the shame in ecclesiastical eyes, seeing that there are no legal modes of interfering with a daughter of full age marrying a Dissenter, either before the foul fact or after. No sect does things of this kind by halves if it can help it. The Established is clearly marching on the point, where the necessity of refusing entrance into the true church to a corpse that has intercommuned with Dissenters (for the corpse manifestly has not got quit of the odour of dissent by death), shall be superseded by the law's preventing the *corpus delicti* from the outset, by prohibiting the marriage of the daughter of what might otherwise make a buriable corpse, with a Dissenter at all. There is no other remedy available. A church man or woman that hath a daughter that marries a Dissenter, loses right of sepulture; or at all events is to be consigned to the grave with maimed rites. The bann of the true church is to be there, whether it be a great bann or a little one. It matters not what the relatives may be, or how deep their sense of the insult which it is in the sacerdotal mind to inflict upon them. She hath a daughter, though it were one out of nineteen, who has married a Dissenter. She has been so lax in the instilling of Church-of-Englandism in their infant years, that one of her nineteen daughters has married a Dissenter.

> 'Will love be controll'd by advice?
> Will Cupid our mothers obey?'

may be good everywhere else, but it is not good where the Adonis was a Dissenter.

But lest any want of courage should be inferred from confining the application to an old lady deceased, the church determined to try it also on a corpse military, for which purpose it selected one at Tynemouth, perhaps the identical

> ——————— 'Irish dragoon
> With his long sword, saddle, bridle,'

of whom poetry delighted to tell. Now, for the preservation of "unanimity," could it not be arranged, that any corpse either of the dissenters or the dissented from, the sects that are too new or the sect that is too old, which shall make its peace through its sureties, by being by them presented at the church-door without token of dissent, shall thereby *ipso facto* be and be taken to be the corpse of a true believer, and treated

accordingly? Might not, for instance, the believing bearers be held to cover the unbelieving corpse; or some other amiable compromise be hit upon, which should save the church from the danger of quarrelling with dead dragoons, which it may be said is over, and with their comrades, which is all to come? But establishments never *are* amiable; to be established, means being set above the necessity of cultivating the amiabilities.

Meantime the divergents of all kinds, the too old and the too new, must see that there is no peace for them alive or dead, but in reducing the pretensions of the dominant sect, as has befallen those that have gone before it.

London, 21 *April*, 1841.

P.S. Did ever ministry expose itself to anything like Napier's speech at Liverpool (See *Times* of this day)? Here is the rough-handed sailor preaching honesty and common sense to a mad government;—the sea-fish rebuking the insanity of the prophet. How long are affairs to be conducted by men who are subjects for medical restraint? When such a misfortune befalls a sovereign, the custom is to appoint a regency. If it is impossible to change the men, could nothing of the same kind be done here?

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXVI.

To "SHIFT THE SADDLE," UNBUCKLE THE GIRTH.

SIR,—Your correspondent Mr. Biggs appears to be advancing in dignity, if we may judge from the number that speak with him in the gate. It is joyful to hear, that so many of the points urged by him are unnecessary truisms. If the working classes have really come to the general knowledge of all the points instanced in the letter of Mr. J. Smith, they have at all events, made rapid advances since a time I can remember.

Mr. Smith is anxious to SHIFT THE SADDLE. Now, though it may not be always politic to dilate upon consequences, I cannot resist the temptation of saying, that any difference between Mr. Smith and myself, I apprehend lies here;—I would have removed the Corn Laws *because it would have* UNBUCKLED THE GIRTH.

There is no use in concealing from the adversaries what they perfectly know. They have always known, with respect to the Corn-law, "its end and their's involv'd;" and therefore they so watchfully defended every avenue to its destruction. The working classes themselves were told, they must not touch the Corn-law, because it would be "revolution." They were to change the seat of political power from the wealthy to the multitude, and they were to march upon Newport as the way of bringing this about; but they were carefully to eschew ceasing to keep the landlords out of the price of bread, because that would be "revolution." Does not this point to the fact that the Corn-law was the "GIRTH?" A girth too, which might ere this have been unloosed, if it had not been for the dread the working classes have of revolution, and their desire to make the omelet and yet have no breaking of eggs.

When Cleander asks whether "it is not necessary that the repeal of the malt-tax and the corn-laws should be simultaneous, the farmer having to pay 21*s*. 8*d*. per quarter for every quarter of malt which he brews to get in his harvest, and to supply his labourers with beer, while the foreign farmer has to pay no duty at all," I feel doubtful of the precise ground on which he intends to rest his case, and perhaps others may feel the same. If it is meant to say the farmer pays a duty on the malt he consumes himself, does Cleander forget that other people drink beer besides the farmer and his labourers? Might not he as well resist the payment of a property tax, if there was one? It strikes me that Cleander has not made the best of his case. He should have asked whether along with the removal of the Corn-laws, he ought not to be relieved from a tax which tends to impede the culture of barley on lands which may be better adapted for that grain than for any other. To which the answer seems to be, that this is a landlord's question, and scarcely to any perceptible degree a farmer's; that the loss to the landlords is only to the amount of the difference between the rent which might be got from land in barley, and the same land when driven to some other crop, a loss which there is no need to listen to, till the landlords express their readiness to levy the amount of the present malt-tax fairly by a property-tax, and not *un*fairly by a tax on the drink of the working classes; —and lastly, that the landlords are welcome to preserve a tax of 21*s*. 8*d*. per quarter on foreign barley, as long as they preserve it upon home, which would bring the malt-tax altogether under the head of taxes unjustly levied on the working classes.

On Cleander's proposal of a property-tax, there is nothing to be said but that it is much too good to hope for, in a country where the people have been bred up to see men taxed in proportion to their poverty, and where by the simple machinery of placing the same tax on the poor man's pound of tobacco as on the rich, the poor can be taxed to *eleven* times the amount on the things consumed.

London, 22 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXIX.

The Game of the Half-hearted.

Sir,—If a man were to look around him, and collect from the contents of the public journals and the proceedings of public meetings, the wants, wishes, and anxieties of the public, what an odd contrast would he perceive between the objects as thus determined, and the individuals sent to the grand palaver of the nation as the instruments of enforcing them. The single requisite seems to be, that the individual shall give his vote in a given direction when the necessity arrives; but no attempt to bring on that necessity, makes any part of the contract with the representative. On the contrary, were he to do anything else, or attempt to do, the odds are that he would be voted a dangerous person, and on the first opportunity receive a hint to withdraw.

The truth is that the electors of such representatives are a race like the bat in the fable, anxious to claim as either flesh or fowl, as may turn out. If they can obtain the reforms they profess to be eager for, they are content, and perhaps would rather prefer it of the two. But if they obtain them not, they see many sources of comfort, in having kept down dangerous individuals like the unrepresented and their partisans. There is many a snuggery to be lighted on, in the chamber of a minister, or within the precincts of a court; and of these it is odds but a crumb of comfort may descend to the constituency. The rich chances of persuading a member of the cabinet to take off a tax of a halfpenny per pound on dyeing drugs, may form a consolation for his continuing to keep out foreign corn. And thus the game goes on, among the half-hearted and those who have no heart to it at all; and

small is the wonder at the verification of the philosophic adage, that out of nothing, nothing comes.

Let us trust, that now our Chartist friends, or a substantial portion of them, have discovered that knowledge is the way to power, the result may be an influx of new blood which shall mend the pace of parliamentary interference.

London, 22 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXVII.

How is having Land to help us, if we may not have Corn?

Sir,—If Mr. James Orange will permit me to enter into an amicable controversy, will he state to me, if he had chanced to be on board that Turkish frigate where the captain went on a three weeks' voyage with three days' water and then sold it to the highest bidder, by what invention (except one) he would have remedied the evil? Would he have mended it by giving the classes on deck "a direct beneficial interest" in the water that was below, —supposing nothing to be done to increase its quantity? Or would "intellectual improvement" have done anything for them, unless it could have been directed into the course of forcing the commander and officers to allow of water from some neighbouring port?

Perhaps your correspondent will admit, that this limits the dispute at once, to whether he has taken defensible ground in believing, that it only wants the operatives or part of them to turn their attention to corn-growing, and to *have land* to grow it on, to remedy what we live under from year to year and most of us are conscious of having lived under all our lives, "*the present distress.*"

Having land may mean two things. It may mean having land in some country other than this, and thence procuring corn in addition to what it is profitable to grow here; and this would be removing the Corn Laws. Or it may mean, having land in this country, either by purchase from the present holders, or without it.

Let us put then, the most favourable case. Let us suppose that any number of the present operatives which shall be fixed upon, are put in possession of any portions of land in this

country that shall be assigned, and ask no questions how. It may have been by a division of lands like what the Israelites made in a conquered territory, or in any other manner which may be preferred.

On this statement, though no man will deny that if the portions were large enough and good enough they might be attended with great comfort and satisfaction to the individuals who were the lucky receivers, I will undertake, with permission, to deny point-blank, that any the smallest alleviation of the aggregate suffering of the community would be the result.

A French philosopher calculated the incomes of France, and divided the sum by the population, and found that forty crowns a-year (£10) was the average income of a citizen. Now suppose that instead of £10 it was decreed that £100 was a fitting income for an English citizen, and that all the great landholders or possessors of property in general, were obliged to take indigent individuals into partnership till there was exactly £100 a-year for each. I maintain that nothing would be done, unless the quantity of food was increased. There is no doubt that the thousands of indigent citizens who would be thus put in a state of comparative opulence, would have full meals, which is a great satisfaction. But if there was no more food in the whole than before, it seems plain that if they had more, somebody must have less. There is no use in insisting on pointing out the individuals who would have less; the truth appears to be one which may be received by the human mind without it.

But would there be the smallest tendency for the new arrangement to effect the production of more food? The complaint appears always to have been, and the facts stated were true enough, that the great farmers and capitalists beat the little ones out of the field; which is only saying in other words, that they produced more with a given expense, and consequently more upon the whole. As for the lands which the new comers are to cultivate and which were not cultivated before,—*where are they?* Who can show the land which was not cultivated, if it could be cultivated with a profit under the old system?—and the very complaint against the old system was, that it could cultivate where the new could not. The assets therefore on this side the question, must be reduced to a few hundred or thousand acres of park and pleasure ground, which might by possibility be applied to growing mutton and turnips instead of venison and peaches. Which, from the comparative fewness of the acres concerned, is not likely to balance the falling-off from the other cause.

I plead therefore, that all this would do nothing towards increasing the quantity of food; and that the consequence would be, that though a different set of flies might be at the top of the treacle, the whole mass would be just as much stuck fast as ever. In other words, that it is a mistake consisting in confounding the comforts which might be shifted to a new set of individuals, with an increase of comfort on the whole.

London, 21 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XVI.

The Catholics and "Graven Images."

Sir,—At a time when the Church of England is to all appearance in full march to re-occupy the grounds for herself which made the causes of quarrel between the Church of Rome and our forefathers, it is no business of ours to assist the movement by helping the Anglicans to get up baseless charges, against the Church from which they pretend to differ only when their interest is concerned.

Having had occasion some years ago to examine into the foundation of the disputes on the subject of commandments and catechisms, exactly as alluded to in your paper of the 8th April, the conclusions to which I came were the following; and I should like to know how far your Catholic friends and neighbours agree in their accuracy.

What the Church of England prints in two paragraphs, under the title of the first and second commandments, the Catholics *and Lutherans* print in one, and call the first. And they do it, they say, "because it all relates to one and the same thing,"—the "graven things" being only an explanation of what is meant by "strange gods;" and they assert that the authority for this is as old as St. Augustin.

What the Church of England prints in one paragraph and calls the tenth commandment, the Catholics and Lutherans print in two, under the titles of the ninth and tenth. And they do it, they say, because one prohibits the desire to break the sixth commandment, and the other the seventh, and because they consider this as a more substantial distinction than exists in the other case. It is true they disturb the order of the Hebrew; but they think the reason warrants it.

The Catholics *have* no composition under the exclusive title of "their Catechism," as the Church of England has; but on the contrary a multitude of works, the offspring of the zeal of different ecclesiastics, resembling in diversity of style and temperament, the elucidations of the Church of England's Catechism which are from time to time put forth from various quarters. Some of these Catholic productions,—amounting in the specimens collected to one in four,—give only the heads of the commandments, on the ground of their being what are called "Short Catechisms;" and in these, in consequence of the heads only of the commandments being given, the words "graven images" do not appear after the words "strange gods" have been given already. But these Shorter Catechisms equally discuss the question of whether it is proper to "pray to and serve images," and in one place or other, quote the remaining words of the commandment.

On such grounds it is, that a sect which is setting up the doctrines of the Papacy on its own account as fast as it is able, would try to involve us in squabbles with the older Church, by way of covering its movement by the smoke.

London, 19 *April*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXVII.

THE SHEFFIELD OPERATIVE ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.

SIRS,—It is matter of surprise to me, that the proceedings of your Operative Anti-Corn-Law Association at Sheffield should so long have escaped my knowledge; but it goes to confirm an idea which has often struck me, that the way for a man to keep a secret is to put it into the newspapers. And this is really not so extravagant as it looks; the explanation of the appearance being, that the vast accumulation of matter laid before the public almost amounts to concealment of any particular fact, just as an advertisement in the body of some of the "monster" advertisers of the day, amounts to next to no advertisement at all.

As an old dealer in these subjects, I would suggest to the Operatives at large, that the points on which clear views are most wanted among their class, and to which consequently their efforts should be directed, are the following.—

1. That whenever anything is bought at a dearer market when it could have been bought at a cheaper, the difference of price is lost to the consumer as if it was thrown into the sea, and without any the smallest gain or increase of employment or wages to working-men in the aggregate. The workman who is employed in the home-monopoly may gain; but he takes it all out of the pocket, not only of the consumer, but of some other workman besides, whom the consumers would have employed by the expenditure of the difference.

2. That this principle tells with horrible effect, when the consumer is *the working-man*, and the article to be consumed is what he cannot live without; food.

3. That the consequence of such a system is that there must be a perpetual *killing-off* of the population of the working classes, from the moment their numbers have begun to press against the food produced at home. If only a certain number are allowed to be fed, all the rest must be brought to the grinder in succession, like the grains of coffee in a coffee-mill. And the New Poor Law will be that mill.

4. That for wages not to decrease under such a system, is a thing impossible; and he that says so, ought only to be laughed at, for he in fact says, that many people shall be fed out of the same food that would keep a few. Still more ought he who should say, that to remove present prohibitions on food would cause wages to fall; for it is saying that less shall be eaten out of much than out of a little.

5. That the agricultural labourers are in the end brought to suffer, as much as the manufacturing. For as they have the same tendency to multiply, it is impossible they should not bid against each other for a limited quantity of food like the rest.

6. That the mischief comes, by a process more or less roundabout, not only to all who are engaged in the various professions and occupations of life which have no immediately apparent connexion with either agriculture or manufactures, but to the farmers, and even to the owners of land, with the exception of such as either are to have no children, like the Fellows of Colleges, or who have some patent for keeping them out of the public stock.

The operatives should demand answer upon these points; which they will find is precisely what the opponents will evade.

By keeping in view these principal points, and endeavouring both to improve the clearness of their own convictions and spread them among their associates, I feel persuaded that the influence of the sound and sensible portion of the operatives will rapidly increase, and that very little more will be heard of the ministerial objections to the removal of the Corn Laws, founded on the hostility of the working classes.

London, 17 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXVII.

THE ROBBER IS NOT THE GREATER INTEREST.—"MONEY SPENT AT HOME."

SIR,—I see a grievous hole in the last letter of your correspondent "An Agricultural Labourer of West Suffolk." He manifestly thinks that if one man robs another till he becomes the richer of the two, he has a right to stand up and say, "See now whether I am not the most important interest."

This and nothing else, whether he knows it or not, is what he means when he says the property embarked in agriculture in the British Empire amounts to three thousand millions, while in manufactures it amounts to seven hundred and fifty millions; and it is probably what was meant by the *Farmer's Journal* too, from which he had it. That is to say, the agricultural property is made great and the manufacturing small, because a law has prohibited manufactures for the sake of putting money into the pockets of the law-makers, who were agriculturists; and because the agricultural is made greater and the manufacturing less, therefore it is as it should be.

The argument would not be intrinsically better, if instead of the greater property it had been the greater population which had been interested in the injustice. But here it happens that the very contrary is what exists; and in fact there may be considerable doubt whether it is easy to contrive a case, in which the greater population should be raised upon the oppression of the less. But the truth is believed to be, that the only class into whose pockets more money actually comes, are the landlords, who are in number about

thirty thousand. All the rest, not only are virtually indifferent to the question of whether they work for dishonest rich men or for honest, but divide among them the huge national loss which arises out of the legislative depression of the national industry and wealth.

"Money spent at home," always means taking money out of a man's till and telling him you will come and spend it at his shop. This was Burke's fallacy, of taxation returning in "refreshing showers."

Your correspondent of West Suffolk is a timid man. I am afraid, like a timid horse, he looks about for things to shy at. He sees "Union Prisons" and "travelling the country as wandering beggars," as the consequence of——what? omitting to keep out foreign food. He throws scorn on my ignorance of "the care and toil on both labourer and farmer in the production of beef, bread, and beer." Does he suppose I think they are found in parsley-beds, any more than broad cloth? But what has that to do with the question, whether it is proper to prohibit the sale of broad cloth to serve the corn-growers, any more than to prohibit the growth of English corn in order that the manufacturer may buy more corn with his goods from abroad?

The agricultural labourers are not exactly the men to ask to do anything against "Poor-Law Bastilles" but grumble at them; in which God send them good speed. But I hope the time is not far off, when the eyes of the working classes of all kinds will be open to the fact, that there is little harm in a wall, if there is nobody to jam your head against it; —and that the Corn Laws are in reality the force, which jams the poor, body and soul, against the New-Poor-Law wall the legislators have set up.

Finally, I am highly amused and delighted with your correspondent's first paragraph, every word of which is like gospel truth. I will pay his expenses if he will send that to Manchester; though there were no way of doing it but in a chaise and four.

London, 15 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XXV.

THE "LABOUR MARKET."—DUTCH HERRING FISHERY.

SIR,—Of all the delusions which have been thrown in the way of our friends of the working classes, one of the most effective seems to have been what has been conveyed under the term "labour market." It might have been supposed they would have looked into the meaning of the phrase before they yielded themselves to its influence, and have sifted its claim to their trust before they reposed upon it. But there was an unhappy willingness to go the wrong way instead of the right. The tempter, like Satan, found his followers by inclination half moulded to his hands. What the motive was, it is not so easy to discover; but follow they did, with a most miraculous alacrity.

What would the hard-headed men of the working classes it has been our lot to know, have understood from a "labour market," but that it was good when a large quantity of food and other good things of life were to be divided among the workmen as the recompense of their toil, and bad when the contrary? Not so the modern wisdom of their successors. A good market for labour is where there is the least possible for labourers to get and to enjoy; and a bad market is where the labourer's produce should be exchangeable for what he wants. Shut us up, we beseech thee, that we may eat no foreign corn while we can have dearer at home, is the request these political economists would address to the regulator of their destinies. They beg to shut the gates of their town against corn, that they may shut in their labour market. They consider their labour market to be something independent of food, or more strictly to bear a resemblance to Abernethy's quaker, of whom it appears to be recorded, that the less he ate the fatter he grew. It may be all very well for an over-fed quaker; but it will answer very ill for working men and their families, whose complaint is a thinness rather than a plethora.

The argument by which this theory of the "labour market" is maintained, may be supposed to be something like the following. "You, the working classes, are supported on the expenditure of the rich." Do not, therefore, allow of foreign commerce, for then the expenditure goes to somebody

besides yourselves." The weakness of this is in not seeing, that if the foreign trade is a good one, the benefit comes to yourselves. It may not come all; but there comes so much of it that you will be the worse for its absence. It would have been an odd thing if the Dutch had refused to sell herrings, on the ground that they would keep their labour market to themselves. The honest Dutchmen thought, that the fact of more being got for their herrings from foreigners than at home, was the very reason why they should send them abroad. The inventors of the "labour market" would tell you it was the reason why they should keep them at home.

It amounts to saying, that because more of what Dutchmen want, can be got by exchanging their herrings abroad, Dutchmen are bound in wisdom to take the least. And if it was attempted to separate the interest of the working class, the herring-catchers, it would amount to telling them, that when the community got what it wanted least instead of what it wanted most,—when it had herrings till they would not sell for the cost of catching, instead of bread or clothes which it desired more,—then would be the time when it would be most munificent to herring-catchers, and the greatest share of good would fall into the hands of the water-borne fraternity.

It is to be suspected, they understood these things in Holland, a great deal better than we do here.

London, 22 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XXII.

Speech of Commodore Napier at Liverpool.

Sir,—Observing that "Alpha Omega" includes among his questions a desire to be informed whether it is reasonable "on the part of the lovers of liberty and peace, to complain of our alliance with liberty-loving Russia, and the improvement-loving Sultan, for the purpose of putting a stop to the progress of society in Egypt, and thereby depriving Mohammed Ali of his power to assist us, in case we should quarrel with our most determined enemy;" I cannot avoid referring him, in case it should have escaped his observation,

to the speech of Commodore Napier at Liverpool, given in the *Times* of the 21st of April.

We have here the curious spectacle, of the military agent protesting against the policy of the government that gave him orders, in the same manner as a captain of foot might be supposed to protest, who by directions from superior authority, had faced his company to the right about, and given his fire into the friendly battalion that was behind, instead of the enemy that was in front. He might be unable to do other than obey orders at the time; but the first day he is among his friends at home at ease, he very naturally lets out the fact, that he always knew the battalion fired into was composed of the best friends we had, but it was not for him to find brains for his betters, or to set to rights such as they might already be provided with.

You see the fact is, it is not to military or naval agents we are to look, for seeing that the force we subscribe for is not used against our friend instead of our enemy. They are a cannon, which is bound to go off when touched in the proper place, in whatever direction it may be pointed; the pointers are the responsible. Now our pointers are mad. They are either medically so, which is not beyond suspicion, or they are possessed with that kind of madness which for the sake of the paltry ornament or title that in this country is the reward of any man who can contrive to do mischief on a large scale, will order a reckless firing upon friend or foe. To such miserable counsellors are our interests left. A clever handsome woman in the shape of a royal mistress, as in the days of Louis the Fourteenth, must have been an incomparably better manager for a nation. France went to war on one occasion, because the nominal minister had not finished a building to the mistress's liking. England went to war with Mohammed Ali, and murdered his subjects by thousands to the infinite delight of the court and government, for no reason but that he had done all he could to please her.

If there was a people in England, *which there is not*, it would show its sense of the conduct of the honest Commodore, by sending him to tell his story in parliament.

London, 27 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XVIII.

"MAINTAINING" THE COMMUNITY.

SIR,—Mr. Biggs must have got wrong, if he talked about maintaining the community or the working-classes. It is the Chinese mistake, of saying "the gentry are the hope of the poor." But perhaps it was only an accidental slip, such as everybody is liable to. Mr. Biggs will be the first to admit, that he is only one of a multitude of agents by whose joint efforts the maintaining of the community (as far as bad laws will let it) is brought about; a promoted and an honoured agent it may be, but no more the maintainer of the community, than the captain who directs the operations of a company, is the maintainer of the fire by which any effect is produced in consequence.

I do not quite know what the "*sealed book*" may be; but I believe that there *is* a sealed book, the opening of which will be productive of weighty consequences, and this will be when it is generally found out that we are not half so far from the ability of doing well, as people have imagined. That we neither want to be made new men of, nor find out the *elixir of life*, but there are more homely evils that oppress us, than the lack of these discoveries. As one step towards this, we have pretty generally found out that we are ill; and when men of all classes are looking for a remedy, it is hard if it is not to be found.

I am glad to see Mr. Sweet has come to the conclusion that "the Radicals hold the balance of power, and ought to concentrate their energies to act as circumstances may require." It is what I have been toiling to persuade men these three years, and it is pleasant to see somebody of the same opinion.

London, 24 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XIX.

THE DESERTION OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES, NO REASON WHY THE WORKING CLASSES SHOULD NOT MOVE TO THEIR OWN INTEREST.

SIR,—I have great satisfaction in the opportunity of replying to the letter of Mr. John Smith; and if I do it

freely, I am sure no unnecessary offence will be taken in any quarter.

If I may be allowed to turn the first question round, for the sake of making clearer to the reader of the present letter what it is that is in dispute,—I am asked whether there is any more reason to believe that the prohibition of foreign trade is at this moment in existence solely and purely because "the working-classes would have it so," than that it is in existence because the manufacturers and middle classes would have it so.

The answer is, that the manufacturers and middle classes, or a substantial portion of them, are and for some time have been, in full march to pull down the prohibition on foreign trade, or one of its strongest limbs; and that the working classes or influential portions of them, instead of joining in the movement, have filed off another way, some on the ground that the movement did not do enough and they meant to do all at once, some that its effects on the working classes would be nothing, and some that they would be bad. All of which has been advanced by cold friends and warm enemies in powerful stations, as a reason why the movement should come to naught, and it has up to this time done nothing accordingly. The adversary has never objected in parliament that the manufacturers and middle classes were against the Corn-laws; but he *has* objected that the working classes were.

That the middle classes deserted the working classes and deceived them, is very likely to be true, and to be true again. But this does not justify the working classes in refusing to move upon a point which would have been for their own gain, and on which the middle classes, untrustworthy as they may be, were eager to join. The working classes ought simply to have asked, would the removal of the prohibition be a good for us or an evil. If it would be a good, then they ought to have moved upon it, though the devil (according to the Italian proverb) was to have been their ally. If they determine it would be an evil, then the working classes and not the manufacturers or middle classes, oppose the removal of the prohibition.

"Organic change" may be as necessary as ever, but it has become less practicable. First (which the working classes cannot help) because the middle classes turned round on them and deceived them. Secondly (which is the working classes' own doing), because when the middle classes, deceivers as they may be, set themselves in motion on a point

which was the inlet to great increase of power to the working classes and of weakness to their enemies, the working classes had not grace to see their day, but refused to move because the middle classes had refused to go on with them before.

I would suggest that so far as success is connected with human exertions at all, it depends, not on the quantity of love which may induce anybody to assist us, but on the number of people we can get to help us into the saddle where we want to be, whether it be love or their own interest that makes them.

I do not see that I have charged the working classes with "desertion," of anything but their own interest. That the middle classes deserted *them*, is no reason why they should cut off their nose to be revenged on their face. On the contrary they should have said, "Here are the middle classes that deserted us, glad to go on a point of our interest again, because it happens to be their own too. Push on, and make the most of the unrighteous Mammon!"

It may be only repetition,—but if the Whigs "deserted the people and left Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, the Abolition of a Property Qualification, and Equal Electoral Districts, to shift for themselves," this is no reason why the people should have refused to stir when the question was whether they should get rid of the tax upon their bread. If it had been the Whigs' bread only, the case might have been different.

That the "operatives have a just right to identify the middle-class *makers* of law-makers, with the law-makers themselves;" or that the middle classes could have obtained a repeal of the Corn-laws if they had gone on for Universal Suffrage, or could do it now,—has no bearing on the question of whether the working classes ought not to have known, that the repeal of the Corn-laws was the way to "organic change." As it turned out, some of them resisted the repeal of the Corn-laws *because* it would lead to organic change; they said it would lead to "revolution." What is to be done with men, who wanting to cease being slaves, take fright before their masters, at the bugbear "revolution"?

That the middle classes would keep the working classes "ragged, degraded, half-starved, and therefore dangerous," may be true or not. I am not here to defend the middle classes. But this makes no excuse for the working classes refusing to go forward, when those who were their enemies on many points, were willing to go along with them.

A man would be a fool who expected much from an aristocracy, Whig or Tory. But this was a poor reason for insisting on maintaining the aristocracy out of their bread.

There is no use in talking of the rights of men, and calling the right of living by our own industry the rights of pedlars, —when the question is whether securing the rights of pedlars was not the open door to following up the rights of men afterwards. There is no use in saying you could do *this* if men would help you, and you could do *that* if men would go along with you, and therefore the blame is with *them*. The question is, why you did not play your own game, when men, whether they loved you or not, were willing to help you to gain a move.

That all *suffer from a bad system,* was no reason why we should not have lopped off that portion of the system which consisted in making us maintain our enemies out of our bread. It was precisely because it tended to the destruction of the system, that it ought to have been done.

The last paragraph of Mr. Smith's letter may be apprehended to contain the reasons of his policy; and it amounts to what I set out with, namely, that the portion of the working classes which he represents, oppose the removal of the prohibition. And they do so, it is announced, because the wretchedness of the operatives would not be effectively or permanently relieved by a change in the Corn-laws; because the change would be trifling and for a time only; because the cause is in the immensity of the power of production brought into action by steam and other improvements; and because political economists have left unconsidered the laws by which,—there being enough for all, *which is the very thing they say there is not, and that Corn-laws are a helping cause,*—every one willing to work should be secured a just share. The political economists, or those of them who are worth their salt, say the Corn-laws are what hinder there being more to share, and consequently the workers' having the share they might. The working classes say they know better, and beg there may be the little bread.

All these are differences of opinion which have been discussed in places innumerable, and which it would be out of place to discuss further here. But as the letter concludes with repeating what is manifestly considered as the pith of the argument, I must be allowed to say again, that whether "the people deserted the middle classes or the middle classes deserted the people," does not seem to have the smallest bearing, on whether the people should resolve to maintain the

aristocracy out of their bread, because the middle classes offer to help them to remove it.

London, 27 April, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LX.

Symptoms of the Progress of Reform.

Sir,—The struggle between Civil and Religious Liberty and its enemies runs high, and the heroes on both sides absorb the attention of an expectant universe. A motion has been made to admit the public into the Regent's Park; while at the other end of the Liberal line a formidable movement in support has been contemporaneously effected, in the form of a motion to admit the same public to a sight of

> 'Lie still if you're wise,
> You'll be d—d if you rise,'*

and other important monuments of the greatness it has paid for, without "a twopence more." Dark on the other hand as night, comes on the University of Oxford through its chosen champion, in an attack upon "dog-carts." There is a horror in the land, that learned and loyal body cannot see without dismay. There is a race so ignorant,—the counterpart and associates of the man taken up some time ago with horse-flesh in a bag,—who finding their small capital inadequate to the keeping of a larger animal, profanely and not having the fear of our Puseyite University before their eyes, scandalously and to the terror of the aristocracy drive a dog. The gentlemen don't like driving dogs; they only like keeping them, out of the price of bread. Gentlemen never drive dogs; neither would the others, if they could make the gentlemen find them horses. If the drivers of dog-carts could have had a parliament in which every man was bound to take an oath to a certain number of dog-carts in his daily occupation, there would have been an end of the present struggle,—the University of Oxford might have despaired. But as it is, there is hope. Cartism, or Dog-Cartism, the

* Written by a Westminster boy on one of the monuments in the Abbey, where the hero is represented as breaking out at the sound of the last trumpet.

Attorney-General may pronounce to be extinct in the metropolis. No man there dares drive an animal that does not consume Corn-law oats, and so raise the landlords' rents. Hence the vigour of our new Rome, to spread the blessing over the land. As at the Tournament which unfavouring heavens so ruthlessly washed away, knight was to have answered knight in frightful combat with sawed lances, so here the doughty Alma Mater pricks forth, to balance the fearful innovations on the other side.

Does not one thing occur to you,—that these are all combats *with sawed lances*, of which the public pays for the tinsel and the glare?

What think you of the Nottingham election? Will the Chartists be admitted to another conference at Leeds?

London, 29 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXVII.

Society dependent on "the Church."

Sir,—It is news to me, that "all the happiness of society, and hopes of the future depend" upon "the Church;" but so I find it in a speech at a Conservative Banquet in the county of Suffolk. To this there appear very forcible objections, on the grounds that many members of society are as notoriously unhappy under "the Church," as the proverbial toad under the "ow'r many masters" he so pathetically complained of; and further, that it is an accredited fact that there are many who hope all imaginable things for the future, but without the slightest dependence on "the Church." This must have been a partial, or as the Germans call it a "one-sided" view of things. There certainly was another side or two, if the speaker had known where to look for them.

It would be pleasant too to see a schedule, of the number of different believers, who agree in "*knowing* that the Church to which they adhere, is the Church of the living God, and His Glory rests on her to bless her." The misfortune is, that to all his neighbours, each of these individuals may be considered as saying, "I see a sight thou canst not see." Not that there is the least occasion for any man to

part with his "knowledge;" but if the possessors of these clashing knowledges are to live together in civil society, it is to be feared they must consent to something like an agreement to quash all practical corollaries, as far at least as regards their operations upon each other.

At the present moment it is pretty plain that the prevalence of this kind of agreement is not extending, but contracting. A new sect has risen up in the heart of what is called the Established one, which demands a return to the doctrines and practice of the more ancient Roman Church, as far as is consistent with preserving a strict gripe on the temporalities. And it is evident no opposition is contemplated by the sluggish mass, to whom these more active spirits form the advanced guard. Some time or other, Dissent (for every man has some point or other he would dissent at) will be effectually roused. What the conclusion may be, is yet to see; but it is not difficult to perceive that the struggle which will lead to it whatever it is, in the nature of things is unavoidable.

London, 29 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXX.

THE "WAR OF THE RECESS."—WHERE NEXT?

SIR,—It is clear enough, as you intimate, from what has happened at Liverpool and probably by this time been repeated at Manchester, that the heads which determined on the "war of the recess" in the Mediterranean, were labouring under what amounted to physical insanity. As a father takes a gun or other dangerous implement out of the hands of an infant or unreasoning child, so ought these men never to have been left in possession of such a dangerous weapon as the British navy, and allowed to play all the murderous tricks which intense ignorance of the country's interests, joined to an idiot's carelessness of human life, might suggest.

It is quite plain that these men were not in a state of mental discrimination, to know friends from foes. Napoleon confessed with pain, that once in the early part of his career, he ordered an attack on an enemy's outpost, for the sake of showing a sight to a lady who was in company. It is extremely probable that 40,000 friendly Egyptians have in the

present instance been destroyed, with the idea of getting up a subject of interest at breakfast, for a youthful sovereign and her still more youthful consort.

But is this the way a great country ought to be governed? I urge the question particularly on all who take the name of Chartist, and that much larger body, who hold to the opinions without the name. Is it not a complete justification of the principle on which the Chartists have commenced to act, that the substitution of the Tories for the Whigs would be a good in itself, as putting the country under the control of a government where there was at least some Opposition? When the fall of the leaf brings the opportunity for another war of the recess, which of the friends and allies of the British people is to be attacked next? Our friends are not many; Mohammed Ali was the most decided, and his subjects have been basely slaughtered by way of proving the advantages of adhering to a civilizing ruler. Mexico was one of the next, so far as connexions entered into under men of sense could be supposed to produce the effect; and Mexico has been attacked through the recognition of a horde of pirate slave-traders advanced upon her territory. If a man were to guess, perhaps Portugal stands next in order. Look out for Portugal, as probably the next object our mad aristocracy will attack for being our friend.

London, 29 *April*, 1841.

P.S. The Chartists have done the deed, at Nottingham. They said they had 200 men; which turned over makes 400 in the votes. If they can show they had 129, 'tis they that did it. On one point they might improve another time; they should have fairly offered the Whigs a Chartist candidate first. This would have brought a hundred or two more to their side; which might have been the turning of the election. The example will tell fearfully when double elections come; because where the Chartists can bring in one Tory, it is probable they can bring in two, unless the Whigs make terms. Revive the recollections of old doings at Manchester.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXVIII.

Decay of the Silk Stocking Trade.

Sir,—So you regret to state, that "after a year's prosperity, the drawer and pantaloon trade has met a sudden depression." I wonder much where the year's prosperity came from, when we were neither allowed to raise legs for pantaloons, nor to take payment from other people where the raising of legs is free, in what they had to pay in. It is pretty plain it was like the prosperity a man on half allowance might have, if he chose to eat three times a-week, and call it feasting.

"The plain silk hose branch, the main support of Nottingham, keeps constantly dwindling, and has sunk into a state of insignificance." The reason is the same; it is the prohibition on the legs. "In London it has wholly disappeared;" the breed of legs that can wear silk stockings is extinct, or confined to the maids of honour. "The same may be said of Godalming, Dublin and Northamptonshire;" the legs for a silk stocking are no more. "We lament to state that there is no improvement in the warp tatting trade; still there is hope from the Jacquard, the draw-boy, the chain wheel, and Croft's patent pin machine."

Was there ever seen such a hopeful set of people as are at Nottingham? They would be the very men to try the experiment of living without food; for when every crumb had failed, they would say, still there is hope in the smell of the bread-basket. Cannot they see, that they are working against a stone wall; and that they might improve machinery till they put in a mulberry tree at one end and brought out silk stockings at the other, without any effect but causing a greater number of footmen to wear silk stockings, instead of opprobrious cotton?

Surely there is more hope in the Operative Anti-Corn-Law Association, than in all that can be done by jacquards, draw-boys, or without them. What pleasant living there might be in Nottingham, if only we could get over the dread of being "the workshop of Europe."

London, 28 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XVII.

" PLEDGING " OR " NOT PLEDGING."

SIR,—There is a much better way for constituencies to obtain their end, than either " pledging" or " not pledging ;" and that is, to take men whose past lives and conversations are some kind of pledges for them. Do not take a wolf because he pledges himself to vote against mutton; nor even a doubtful, of whom what is known is, that he was bred and born among wolves, and continued with them till something prompted him to see better quarters and provender on the other side. This last, however, is a very favourite animal in England ; he suits a number, whose fear is of getting something that would do too much. He helps to keep things as they are, and put down any dangerous violence of innovation. Besides, it encourages good breeding among wolves; no man can say but they may end by turning shepherds' dogs.

When a king of England says he appeals to the voice of his people, it should properly be said that he appeals to the voice of those who have a house of £10 a-year. He should also say he appeals to those who have throats for drinking ale; for out of those two classes is concocted the " voice" by which his Majesty is to be answered. It would also have been well had he said, that he appealed to this voice as uttered through speaking-trumpets, which had all taken an oath that they possessed a pecuniary interest in speaking for one side of a question and against the other. An inquisitive posterity who at some future time may demand of their fathers what a king of England meant by "appealing to his people," should have all these circumstances drawn out in detail before them.

Finally, let us hope that these things will be better managed, when the sound sense of the industrious classes has to manage them for themselves.

London, 26 *April*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXVIII.

Commodore Napier's Speech at Liverpool.

Sirs,—The speech of Commodore Napier at Liverpool (See *Times*, of 21 April), is one of the most extraordinary phænomena in history. It has always been understood, that the government of a country was to find virtue or common sense to prevent the national force from being directed against friends and allies, and that the military or executive branch (whether by sea or land) was to be responsible for executing the directions given. And there is no doubt that this is the ordinary course of things;—that is to say, the course found adapted for the common order of nature, or for the events which human experience has led to be expected as of general occurrence.

A rule of something like the same kind, is that the lieutenant shall obey the captain, and the captain the general; and no man doubts the aggregate discretion of the arrangement. But there is no case without an exception. If the captain, or the general, be clearly under the heavy hand of Providence, unfitting him for the direction of affairs, and depriving him of the power of discerning right from wrong;—if the captain is found ordering his company to face to the right about and deliver its fire into the battalion that is following to support, either under a particular hallucination inducing him to believe that these are the enemy, or under a general derangement of ideas incapacitating him from the exercise of discrimination;—or if the commander-in-chief be found playing similar pranks on a large scale, against which his rank is no necessary guarantee;—in these or corresponding circumstances, it is clear that the ordinary rule is for the occasion in abeyance, and that counsel must be taken from the exigencies of the case.

We have here then the unparalleled fact, of a commander who had discharged with great personal energy the part imposed upon him by his orders, coming forward with what (in the absence of special pleading) will appear in the eyes of all men a declaration, that the government under which he acted was visibly in the condition of the unfortunate captain, or the much-to-be-pitied general officer, whose misadventures have been imagined. Bating all discussion whether Syria

was better off under Mohammed Ali's troops, or under the Albanians of the Porte who ravish "congregationally," the clear thing is, that the Commodore always knew the government was firing into its friends. He must have been quite sure there was a screw loose somewhere; as a reasonable man he could not help knowing, that somebody had got a bee in his bonnet. It signifies little whether it was an ambassador abroad, or a minister at home; whether it was some personal pique, or the love of the Marquisate which is to be the result of making a certain quantity of noise in the world even though it be by firing upon friends. The hard-headed commander knew that there was madness in the wind, and that though you might tell the contrary to the marines, the sailors would never believe it. And now he comes home, and like a wise and good man, tells all about it.

Will there not be sense in the other commercial towns, whose interest is in amicable relations with friendly powers without interruption from orders emanating from insanity, to take up the subject in the same manner as has been done at Liverpool?

London, 24 April, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXVIII.

WHERE CAN WHEAT BE GROWN TO PROFIT?

SIR,—When your correspondent Mr. Charles Poppy, in your last number, says "it has been proved that wheat cannot be grown to profit with present cost of production under 60*s.* per quarter," does he mean on good land or on bad land, with high rents or with low rents? For the state of the case seems to be of this kind. There is land in England where wheat can be grown with a profit for 40*s.* a quarter, and land where it can be grown for 50*s.*, and for 55*s.* and for 60*s.*; and there is land too where it can be grown for 70*s.* and for 80*s.*, and so on to 100*s.* or 1000*s.* if people will only pay.

Is not Mr. Poppy's meaning, that corn cannot be grown under 60*s.* *with present rents?*

The principle of rent has been so often dinned into the ears of the public, that by this time the boys in the streets must understand it. The necessity of agreeing on the division of the actual stock, induces a certain price for corn; the farmer grows it on all kinds of land, good and bad, up to the point where the going price of corn will pay him with a profit on

the poorest land he uses; and on all the better land, the landlord takes the difference from the farmer as rent.

The rest of the argument in the letter, seems to reduce itself to the following. "Keep out foreign corn, as the means of having to pay dearer for it at home, and you will find that the expenditure of the landlords and farmers will make you live better on the small quantity of corn than on the great." Your correspondent does not put the proposition in these words. But he only puts the converse case; he begs us not to think of admitting foreign corn, because "rents, labour-wages, tradesmen's bills, &c., must be reduced."

It is quite true, that if cheaper corn comes in from abroad, corn will no longer be grown on flag-stones here. And the reasons why the public are to regret the cessation of growing corn upon flag-stones here, are to be, first, the damage to the rural population who were engaged in cultivating the flag-stones, and secondly, the damage that is to ensue to everybody else from the cessation of the expenditure of the landlords and farmers who were supported by the same.

It is much to be suspected, that all portions of society have to a great extent got over their fears on this head. Even the rural working population have come to the conviction, that they are driven to the Union Poor-House as well as the manufacturers, and that the scheme is at all events a failure as far as respects enriching *them*.

As your correspondent appears to intimate that my statements were not the whole truth, he cannot be displeased at my endeavouring to delve a yard beneath his own.

London, 22 *April*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

XXIII.

CLERICAL "POLITICS."—WAR, SLAVE-TRADE, AND THE BISHOPS.

SIR,—When a clerical person is found declaring that he will not meddle with politics, the reasonable construction is, that he will meddle with such politics as concern his own income and well-being, and none besides. For it is plain by every day's experience, that with such politics the clergy do meddle, and put their whole hearts and souls into the business in a manner that laymen find it hard to parallel. Now *political* (as doubtless every Chartist by this time knows, and the clergy were always bound to know by virtue of the

knowledge of Greek supposed to be included in their stipends), means that which relates to *the many*. The alleged principle of the clerical persons in question therefore is, that they will pay no attention to any part of what interests *the many*, except the part which happens to interest *themselves*,—a delicate declaration and a comely, for men who are supported out of the contributions of the many, on the ground of discharging offices useful to the whole.

Is it really true then, that the scriptural books which the clergy are paid to teach, contain nothing that in any manner bears on the concernments of the many, except certain commandments inculcating the propriety of paying clergymen their stipends? for to this the assertion really amounts. Either there is nothing else; or there is something else, and the clergy refuse to teach it. Which is it? If it was the first, there would be no hardship in saying that the clergy and their books would be equally unworthy of the confidence of mankind; if it is the last, then the clergy must be as unworthy of confidence, as the books may be the contrary.

For example,—When the English bishops or a majority of them, came into the House of Lords, and declared on the strength of the repeated calls of God's Holy Spirit which they had claimed at different periods of their vocation to their office, that there was nothing in the Christian scriptures which condemned the African slave-trade,—insomuch that one enemy of freedom, ennobled, as our constitution provides, for his zeal in the cause, declared that the declaration of these holy men was the anchor on which his own conscience reposed in peace,—a glorious example was presented of what the clergy mean by non-interference in politics.

To take a more modern instance,—If they were asked to oppose a war, they would say directly they could not interfere in politics; but if they were asked to bless the banners for a war, our English clergy, evangelicals and all, unless they be altered since our school-boy days, would turn out briskly to consecrate any Obi rag for leading men to murder and pillage under, which the folly of their dupes would induce them to accept. But the clergy *never interfere in politics*.

London, 4 *May*, 1841.

P.S.—The Chartists at Nottingham have done the deed, and stoutly. Move forward everywhere, with Nottingham and the "List of 350 Boroughs."

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XX.

Death-bed Resolutions of the Whigs.

Sir,—As you have honoured two of my letters with insertion in your last, I will confine myself to saying, that you have evidence of the effect of the Chartist move at Nottingham, in the resolution of the Whig ministry to stir the question of the Corn Laws. The Chartists may fairly say they have done this; and though they may not be all united in their opinion of the good to arise from what the Whigs have chosen to do, they must all unite in satisfaction at seeing they have made the feathers fly. How long might the Chartists have voted *for* the best of Whig candidates, before they had produced any such effect? It is a lesson on the future handling.

You must allow me to extend my intention, to expressing my hope that no single individual calling himself a Chartist, whatever side he may have taken in respect of the difference on the question of the Corn Laws, will alter his conduct in consequence of the last fraudulent pretence to which the Whig ministers have been driven by the Nottingham election, the pretence of desiring to alter the Corn Laws. In the first place they propose the very thing which all intelligent opponents of the Corn Laws have protested against as the greatest danger with which the subject was beset,—an alteration to a fixed duty with a view to making it perpetual. So that any man who tosses up his cap for the Whigs on this occasion, may be set down as an enemy of political reform, and of the removal of the Corn Laws too. And in the next place, they only propose it, because they know they have passed the time when anything can come of it. See if they do not consent to propose each of the Five Points of the Charter, one after the other, in the same way, before they quit their hold on office.

The business of a treacherous enemy like the Whigs, was to resist all measures of reform while there was a chance of carrying them, and to propose them when they know there is none. It is hard to say how an enemy's work can be better done.

The Chartists (by which I mean particularly such of them as like myself are hostile to the Corn Laws) will be simpletons if they allow themselves to be the dupes of this death-bed repentance. Nottingham and the List of 350 Boroughs must be our watch-words, if we expect relief.

London, 6 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LXI.

The "Threatening" Policy.

Sir,—There are many persons besides you and me, who have speculated upon what might be the effect "of a little determined band of Radicals, threatening to pursue the same policy in the House of Commons" as has been followed by the Chartists at Nottingham. And as well have the means been taken to forestall the danger. I could name a single man who now counts ten on a division, if he reckons the votes the Whigs have made over to the Tories, to bar the chances of his making one in such a band. Either this is a great compliment to the power of the plan, or the Whigs are paying dearly for their whistle.

It is plain, that after much prompting and urging, the Chartists who are of this world, have found out that they have John Bunyan's "key called Promise" in their pocket, and need not lie in the dungeon of despondency longer than they like. There is no use in debating whether we are pleased with it; it stands there as a fact accomplished. The Chartists have got hold of a key to power; and if they do not use it vigorously, they are an exception to all the rules by which the actions of tortured and exasperated men are to be calculated. "Habakkuk Mucklewrath,"—how often have I sitten by him,—has found his way to retaliate upon his persecutors. And if Habakkuk does not follow it up to purpose, all I can say is, Habakkuk is a fool.

You will agree with me, that it is quite clear a large proportion of the Scotch and English boroughs sending two members to parliament in which the Whigs have borne sway, and also of those which send but one, are in circumstances more favourable than Nottingham for the exercise of such a system. In fact, as regards the chances of the Whigs from a dissolution of parliament, *that earth is stopped.* There is no use in disguising accomplished facts, to please one party or another. The Bourbons sat at Rambouillet after the "Three Days," refusing to hear bad news, and living on the hopes of better; but nobody can show much they gained by it. The English Chartists have at last taken a step into the road that makes their cause to move; and the Whigs may sit at any Rambouillet they please, to calculate the consequences.

In almost any circumstances, there is for every man a better and a worse. As you rightly say, there is no fear whatever for the popular cause; the question is only, under the new eruption of popular power which has broken out, how each of us can be aiding in bringing on the best conclusion.

London, 6 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXVIII.

Drawing-up of the "Charter."

Sir,—My reminiscences and conclusions on the "Origin of Chartism" which makes an article in your last paper, do not altogether accord with those of Mr. Hetherington as there quoted. Mr. Hetherington seems to have felt as a hardship, that the work should have fallen to the extent it did upon the members of the Working Men's Association,—that *they* should have had to "prepare the draft, discuss every clause, reject some, introduce others, and ultimately submit it for public sanction."

Now I cannot help believing, that lucky man was his dole, that had not to complain that six members of parliament did all this for themselves. It would have been much the worse evil of the two. I really do not see the ground of complaint, that when six of the working classes, and six of anybody else, were engaged to draw up an important document, the working classes should have been asked to have it all their own way.

I think it very likely that Mr. Hetherington knows more of the matter than I do. But my recollections are, of having attended a meeting in Bridge-Street, Westminster, under the idea that the formation of the intended document was then to be discussed; and under this belief I remember proposing it should begin with the words, "Forasmuch as some of the commons of the realm are still imperfectly represented in the Commons' House of Parliament." But it soon became plain, that there was something cut and dried, and that the real question was only whether this was to be accepted or not. I say this in no blame of anybody; it is what generally happens in the progress of public business. And as matter of history, I will state my impression then and there to have been, that Mr. O'Connell was the mover of the machine; which of course

made me more anxious to combine with so powerful an accessory.

I really think Mr. Hetherington was a lucky man, who did not find six members of parliament insisting on drawing him up a Charter.

London, 6 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXXI.

Model Operation, for the Party of Real Reform.

Sir,—It will be well indeed, if "your own and other populous manufacturing districts will follow out the example" of the "model operation" given them at Nottingham. And it would not have been at Nottingham that the "model operation" would have been given, if your men of Manchester would have used the means before them, as their friends at Nottingham have done.

The Whig *Examiner* says that of the Chartists "there were about three hundred who polled, counting as six hundred in the total number;" and it appears from other sources, that they went down in a body with music, and gave their votes at an early hour of the day. If three hundred Chartists had done the same at Manchester, what the result might have been, no man can say; but no man will doubt that the result would have been different from what it was. There is great virtue in getting up in a morning. I know that where men are hard worked under Corn and Poor Laws all the week, it is some sacrifice; yet when they undertake a political movement, they must either do it or give up their chance. But instead of this, the main body of our Manchester friends, as you may recollect, staid at home to see how things would go, and by nine o'clock in the morning the polling-clerks had been drilled to refuse to record their votes and tell them their candidate had retired; by which compound of Whig subornation of perjury and Radical feebleness, the whole affair came to the ground.

Some allowance must be made for the degree in which hostility to the Whigs has risen in the interval; but still the fact is, that the men of Manchester lost the opportunity of doing what the men of Nottingham have done, and that all that is left for them, is to try if they can make a good second, where they might have been the first. I point out to them once more, that whenever a general election takes place, they

and the Chartists in thirty other boroughs in the country, have the power of bringing into parliament one Chartist member or two Tories, at the option of the Whigs, unless they entirely throw away their chances by feebleness or mismanagement.

And now I must be permitted to express my hope, that no man calling himself a Chartist, whichever side he may have taken in the difference upon the Corn Law question, will allow himself to be deluded, or his conduct altered, by the manifestly treacherous pretence of the ministers to taking up that subject.

In the first place, the very thing they pretend to offer under the name of *a moderate fixed duty*, is what all enlightened opponents of the Corn Laws know and have declared to be the greatest danger with which the subject is beset;—namely, a compromise among parties for settling the mischief at the point where it is most likely to be everlasting. If any of your professed opponents of the Corn Laws at Manchester, therefore, attempt to get up a rally for the Whig ministers on this ground, set them down as hypocrites and deserters. There is all the difference in the world between taking an installment when it has a tendency to lead to the payment of the rest, and when everybody knows that it is proposed and accepted with the understanding that it is to increase the difficulties of ever getting more. And as well they know it.

But in the next place, surely no man will be so imbecile as to be taken in by this manifest fraud. The Nottingham election has driven the ministers on the necessity of attempting something for show; and so, fully knowing that there is no danger of doing anything, they bring out the Corn Laws. As the recruit fancied when he fired his piece with six cartridges in it, "there are five like that to come." The same operation will be had recourse to, with every one of the "Five Points" in succession. See if, before they give up their hold on office, the ministers do not make a pretence of bringing forward every one of the Five Points of the Charter in succession; well knowing all the while, that they preached Finality while they had the power of doing anything, and pretend the contrary now because they know they have none.

I hope no single individual calling himself a Chartist, will be taken in by this gallows-foot repentance. Nottingham and the List of 350 Boroughs, must be their watch-words for relief.

London, 6 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Metropolitan Anti-Corn-Law Journal.

No. I.

THE DEPTFORD PETITION AGAINST THE CORN LAWS.

SIR,—Allow me some observations on the Deptford Petition against the Corn Laws*; which, if going further than others can form an æra, seems to have the chance of doing it.

The petitioners say their property has been confiscated; and by way of illustration, they declare that the confiscation is of the same kind, as if they, the owners of the commercial and water-borne properties within the country, had proceeded to prohibit the landlords from selling the produce of their estates. Do the landlords deny, that this would be confiscation? Can they point out any reason, why it is not as much so in the converse case?

Where men's property has been confiscated, they naturally pray, first for justice, and then for compensation. Would the landowners do less, if the manufacturing and water-borne interests had for twenty-six years been preventing them from selling the corn grown on their estates? And the way in

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* '*To the Honourable the House of Commons in Parliament assembled.*

The Petition of the Members of the Deptford Anti-Corn-Law Association and others,

Sheweth,—

THAT Your Petitioners are connected with Trade and Navigation, and live in continual sight of the memorials of England's naval greatness, which they have been taught is mainly founded on the same.

THAT the existing Corn Laws amount to a confiscation of their property, of the same nature as would have been inflicted on the owners of the soil, if the owners of the commercial and water-borne properties within the country had prohibited the sale of the produce of the soil in a free market.

THAT Your Petitioners also believe the wealth, revenue, and standing of the country in relation to foreign states, to be cut down in the same manner as if your petitioners had roguishly and foolishly procured the prohibition of the free sale of the produce of the soil, for the sake of importing more provisions from abroad.

THEY THEREFORE PRAY for justice and compensation. First, through the removal of the present Corn Laws by the subtraction of Three Shillings annually from every grade of the existing scale; and afterwards, through the substitution of Bounties on the importation of foreign corn, by corresponding augmentations of Three Shillings annually on each grade of the existing scale, till the Bounties equal the present Duties, and then to be continued for Twenty-Six years, or so long as shall correspond to the period during which the property of Your Petitioners has been subjected to confiscation. With reservation always, that such Bounties shall at any time be commuted for a permanent Tax on Rent, of such magnitude as to Your Honourable House shall be proved to be a fair equivalent on the part of the owners of the soil.

Which is submitted &c.'

which the petitioners desire it may be done, is, in the first place, by removing the confiscation by degrees; to wit, by taking off three shillings annually, from each grade of the existing scale of their oppression. They do not ask for a *fixed* confiscation; nor for a *moderate* confiscation; nor for a *moderate fixed* confiscation; neither do they believe the landowners would ask for any of these if the case was reversed. They leave all these inventions for those who like them; they demand that the confiscation be removed altogether, and probably think they concede as much as the landowners would in corresponding circumstances, when they state their willingness to agree to the removal being by degrees.

But they go further; they ask for compensation. And they point out as the measure of what would be compensation, that by a prolongation (if it may be so called) of the Three Shilling process, the duties should be gradually changed into a bounty on foreign corn, till it equals the present duty, and then to be continued for twenty-six years, or whatever may correspond with the period during which they state their property to have been subjected to confiscation. Would the landlords be content with any less, if the case was reversed? Would not any men be fools or cowards, who, believing in the justice of their claim, should shrink from asking for it?

But the petitioners do not leave the matter in this state. They know that to tax the country to pay a bounty on foreign corn, would, in the abstract, be doing it a damage of the same kind as taxing it to pay a duty. The compensation to the previous sufferers might be desirable; but the tax and the depression of the natural resources of the country, would not. They therefore propose a commutation. They consent to give up their individual compensation, or at all events, to have no more than shall be shared by the country at large. They propose that their twenty-six years' bounty shall be commuted into a permanent tax on rent, of such magnitude as shall be proved to be of equal pressure on the parties on whom retribution is to be inflicted. Does any landowner deny, that every actuary could tell him the amount required, on being furnished with the grounds; or that he himself would make an approximation within the merest trifle, if he was made to bid for the commutation he desired?

There is much in this to familiarize the country with. Justice, unhappily, has long been unfamiliar. But as no man reaches a distant mark by aiming below it, so now there is little chance of hitting the mark of justice, unless men dare speak of the full extent of their wrongs.

One question more from myself. After avowing to the fullest extent the nature of the loss which would arise from a bounty on foreign corn, and stating it to be similar to that which arises from the permission of a duty, might it not be a question whether it would not be a cheap bargain to the country after all, that it should consent to pay *a moderate fixed* bounty upon foreign corn (and there will probably be soon no difficulty in ascertaining what these words mean), for a short term of years, as, for instance, *three or four*, for the chance of recovering what may happen to be recoverable, of the trade and manufactures for taking which out of our hands we have so many years been paying a premium to foreigners? The landlords have congratulated us on their having saved us from the danger of being "the workshop of Europe." Might it not be worth this effort, to try if they may not have been a little out in their calculation?

Blackheath, 7 May, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXIX.

Demonstration given at Nottingham.

Sir,—I wish you had given way to the temptation which assailed you, to read the Whigs in Nottingham and elsewhere, "a lesson on the danger of despising and bearding public opinion," and had been less charitably hasty in your assumption that they have had enough already.

But whether they forget it or not, the public will not renounce the benefit of the demonstration which has been given, that an administration which bit by bit abandons the popular tenets on which it was raised to power, cannot and ought not to stand. The immediate authors of the late event, who are undeniably some hundred and twenty despised Chartists or thereabout, may or may not have pleased all their friends and enemies, by the line they have taken. But neither friend nor foe can doubt, that they have wonderfully advanced their own side. They have done, what men failed to do at Manchester; and as success in this world is everything, they will have gone far to realize the promise of thirty candidates of their own colour at the next election, which was held out to them there as the object of ambition.

The country Whigs, (for they are to be distinguished from the Whigs at the head of the government) will some time or

other discover, that none of their honest purposes can be attained by supporting an administration which is perpetually making war on the principles of popular power, and sacrificing them to the enemy who is standing by to profit by the precedent. They will find out, that the most respectable London houses may send their partners, backed by the good opinion of the most eminent dealers in the most valued articles of trade, and with the most immoveable resolution to vote for everything which ministers ought to support and will not, and for everything which will preserve the same ministers in the power of refusing;—and that all this will be no match for the growing conviction, that the maintenance of these ministers is not a good *per se*,—that the difference between them *without* an Opposition and the Tories *with*, is a mark too fine to be hit, or more strictly a case in which the balance inclines the other way.

Why will men, knowing they have enemies and have done a good deal to make them, act as if they lived in some paradisaical state, where no Tory lion roared, nor Chartist hornet hummed for memory of wrongs?

London, 5 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XVIII.

The Wars of the Insane.

Sir,—Mr. Melville's speech at Markinch is a token of the growing intelligence of the times; and it is of the more value because it hits the point of the practicable, and does not damage its cause by running against the unattainable. There is no use in speaking of war as a thing that can be avoided in the abstract, so long as there is a possibility of one nation inflicting upon another the blasting brutalities which have been executed by our felon ministers against the Chinese, or the scarcely less revolting attacks on our friends and allies in Egypt, made by men suffering under one of heaven's severest judgments, the privation of mental sanity for purposes of punishment. We are all of us conscious that so long as human kind is exposed to accidents like these, a readiness for war is a duty imposed to a certain extent on each of us, because no man can tell at what hour the thief may come.

But the great use of making it apparent that we know the cases in which war is necessary, is that it confirms the fact of

our knowing when it is not. Because we know the cases in which we should ourselves fight to the death, we recognize also the cases in which maniacs in the guise of aristocratical governors employ our money to inflict the same brutalities on others. At this moment, we are, after our several kinds and degrees, subtracting from our own comforts, and those of our wives and children, to pay for the destruction of the national character, and the incurring of national infamy, which we would willingly have paid the double to prevent and bring the minister to due punishment. War has been made upon us everywhere. In no quarter of the world has our reputation as a people been let alone; every man of us whom business or health leads to a foreign country, must bow his head when asked if he belongs to the rascal nation, and plead that his consent was never asked to being born in it. What a shame to manhood and to national intellect, that we cannot prevent a few individuals who never toiled neither did they spin, from running away with the national character, and steeping it in the "base, bloody, and brutal" which is so characteristic of their own.

Read Commodore Napier's speech at Liverpool (*Times* of 21 April), and you will see that the hard-headed sailor declares plainly enough, that he always knew the aristocrats who rule the roast were attacking the wrong man;—that they were assailing the friend and ally of the British people, whom the interest of Britain was by all means to assist and support. Such a scene has perhaps never before been witnessed upon earth, as an oriental power refusing to go to war with a European people, or to exercise any act of hostility against them, on the ground that it was not at war with the people, but with certain individuals of unsound mind who had got possession of the springs of government.

If the people of Great Britain have any soundness left, the lesson will not be lost on them to all futurity. Was it time the Charter should gain ground, or not?

London, 3 *May*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXIX.

PROSPERITY DEPENDS ON JUSTICE.—ROBBERY GOOD FOR NOBODY.

SIRS,—I am not quite satisfied with the assertion which has slipped into a part of your paper, I dare say inadvertently

enough, " that the prosperity of the country depends entirely upon her manufacturing prosperity, and if that interest labours under depression for any length of time, every other class must suffer." Construed as this is very likely to be unless under very particular reservations, and as it certainly will be by the agricultural monopolists who are our opponents, I am afraid it will be considered as only bandying the assertions of the other side, without distinguishing the point on which the accuracy of either is dependent.

The addition I feel desirous to make, is to the effect, that when a government allows of invasion of the right of selling in a free market *either way*, it then and there enacts a voluntary reduction of the resources and well-being of the community. Every country is gifted by nature with its peculiar apportionment of advantages. Some have large gifts for the production of food, with but few for anything besides; others have large "water-privileges" as the Americans expressively call them, and great inward and outward gifts for the cultivation of manufactures and commerce. There is no use in quarrelling with nature's distribution, any more than in complaining that Madrid and Warsaw are not seaports. Each nation has its particular share; but the befooled nation is that, which is persuaded to enact the suppression of one portion of nature's gifts, under the idiotic notion of assisting another. The man who should cut off a limb, on a quack's representation that the powers of the animal system would be poured with advantage into the remainder, would be but a parallel to the folly.

All the arguments about one class suffering with another class, may, I fear, be put into the list of the misleading, or at all events the circuitous. The suffering is not because one class suffers with another, but because one class robs another; which is a much simpler affair. And, as is not peculiar to this kind of robbery, the ultimate damage to individuals and the public through the robbery, is greater than the benefits to individuals or anybody else through its accomplishment. The Swiss, with their popular government, have shown themselves the wisest of nations on this point. They say, "No man in Switzerland shall rob another man, on any pretence, public any more than private. All shall go on in the free enjoyment of the right to buy and sell either at home or abroad; because we know that then the resources of our country, such as nature has established them, will receive the maximum of cultivation of which they are capable, and that to allow any man to stop another's trade on the show of

advantage to his own, would be taking the blunt axe instead of the sharp."

Suppose the owners of the manufacturing and water-borne "privileges" in our own country, had undertaken to prohibit the free sale of the produce of the soil, for the sake of increasing the quantity of food which must be imported from abroad, to the increase of the trade of those connected with importation. How long would the landowners stand being preached to, on the way in which any increase to manufacturing prosperity, would in the long run be shed in the form of refreshing showers, on the landowners who were so lucky as to be submitted to the operation? Tell them for instance, that the better price the manufacturers got for their goods, the more they could and would give for corn. Yet this is the draff with which they think we are to be fed. But the upshot of the whole seems to be, as was set out with, that the strength of the argument is not in showing that what is good for one is good for all, but in showing that robbery is good for nobody.

London, 1 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXIX.

HAVE HIGHWAYMEN ADVANCED PROPORTIONABLY WITH THE OTHER CLASSES?

SIR,—If the landlords have robbed the community, then the question of the Agricultural Labourer of West Suffolk in his last letter amounts to the same as if he asked, "Have the highwaymen advanced proportionably in wealth for these last fifty years with the other classes?" There is no known recognition of any man's right to get more than he can get honestly. If the landlords have tried dishonest means and are poor after all, it is a thing to thank God for, but not to found an argument upon in favour of the wrong.

The further questions tending to establish the existence of other persons interested in the robbery, if it be a robbery, are such as might be brought forward in any similar case. Are there no tavern-keepers interested in the meat and drink of highwaymen; no stable-keepers that find and breed their horses; "is not great fashionable London interested, for where are the proceeds of the road-work spent,—not in the parishes where they are raised?"

That the tithe-owners are interested, in the same left-handed

way that the landowners are,—that is to say, if the manner in which they are brought to loss in the long run is kept out of sight,—is a thing most certain; and I beg to hold it forth to the country as a reason why they should maintain the Corn Laws, that it is stated the tithe-owners are interested.

All the other classes mentioned, have at the bottom the same advantage in working for a free public instead of an oppressed one, which an inn-keeper has in seeing his road safe and accustomed, even though he loses to the amount of the glass of brandy-and-water he used to furnish to the highwayman.

When it was said your correspondent "looked about for things to shy at," it was distinctly added that the object of his dread was the misery to arise from letting in foreign corn. The difference between your correspondent's old man and myself is, that we both boggle at the Poor-house Bastille, but one says for heaven's sake save us by shutting out the food, and the other says let it in.

What was meant by the agricultural labourers not being exactly the men to do anything against Poor-Law Bastilles but grumble at them, was that from their position they were anything but favourably situated for seeing into the origin of the mischief. That some of them begin to see they are no better for the Corn Laws, but share in the general distress of the community, is only a proof that there are some hard heads among the agricultural labourers, as well as some soft ones among the manufacturing.

What "the land-kings may naturally say," I am afraid will be no rule for what their subjects should naturally submit to. If the owners of the soil chose to pay every farthing of the interest of the debt they have contracted for their own wars, and all the other taxes besides, this would not be a fragment of a reason why they should limit the wealth and commerce of the country as the means of bringing it into their pockets again. A sane minister would kick their offer out of doors, and say, "Let me see the country in its natural condition, and it will pay me the same amount with half the effort, and no thanks to you."

The last news is, that the ministry who would have been "mad" last year, are going to be wiser this. What will come of it, will be known when we see. But one thing is certain, —a fearful shake to the whole iniquity.

London, 6 *May*, 1841.

P.S.—The Chartists have made a power of themselves at

Nottingham, whether anybody likes it or not. And there are probably fifty places where in the event of a general election they will be able to do the same, unless a man of their own can be brought in without it. Like John Bunyan's prisoners, they have found out they have the "key called Promise" if they chuse to use it, and need "lie rotting" where they are, no longer than they please. Poor John Bunyan knew what "lying rotting" was, like some of the modern Chartists.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XXIV.

PROSPECT OF A DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

SIR,—Before this letter can be published, it is possible that great changes may have taken place; or it may be that the whole will have blown over, as has so often happened before. In either case, let us hope that the party of the people will have taken the opportunity to strengthen their cause by the demonstration of power which is within their reach.

Writing with the prospect of a dissolution of parliament within a week, I could almost persuade myself to wish the movement postponed, for the sake of the increase of popular union and strength, which it is pleasing to believe would take place during the interval. But 'tis always so with popular parties; nothing but instant necessity moves them to active preparation, and when the necessity comes, the opportunity is generally gone. There is no use in wishing the thing were better than is in its nature. We are men contesting against powerful adversaries for what of all things those adversaries are least disposed to yield to us, after centuries of preparation on their part, while we have hardly begun to know each other and feel our strength. Under such circumstances, there is no occasion to be disheartened by any possible present ill success, and great cause to rejoice at any symptoms of advance.

Supposing, then, the crisis for the present to have blown over, may we not hope that a lesson will have been taken from it, which shall lead to greater organization and more effectual preparation against the time really comes? It is the appointment of your glorious constitution, that elections shall take place all together,—that they shall take place in a hubbub,—that they shall take place in a hurry,—and that the

greatest possible provision shall be made for accumulating the effects of hazard, and diminishing the exercise of deliberation and judgment. In short, there is somebody whose interest it is the thing should be done badly, and this somebody has had the arrangement of the manner. All these are parts of the difficulties to be contended against, but are not, on that account, the less to be met.

There is one comfort, that happen what will, the people is immortal. No earthly power can stop the general progress of knowledge and freedom, though the game may be played a little better or a little worse by the concerned. A moment like that in which I write, is like the coming on of a gale long foreseen; all that can be done ought to have been done; and all that is not done, is too late for the present.

London, 11 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XXI.

THE CHARTISTS AND THE MIDDLE CLASSES.—ONE MISTAKE NO REASON FOR ANOTHER.

SIR,—It falls to me to reply to two letters of John Smith; and if it is done briefly, it must be excused, from the necessity of the case.

"If the day is not won, *in consequence of a desertion from the force*" which happened *three or four years ago*, I trouble myself very little about who was right or wrong then, but I blame those who would not go forward *now*, when there was somebody, good or bad, that they might have gone along with to carry a valuable point.

Withholding support from the middle classes when they were moving upon a point which it was for our interest to carry, appears to me to have no quality of "caution," unless it were caution not to take the opportunity to serve ourselves.

The reason for believing that the *tendency* of the middle classes is good, is that we find them moving on a point which it would be for our interest to carry. But we are to refuse to move along with them, because, (we are to say to them,) we are afraid your tendency is not good.

I have seen "no meetings" of the middle classes for any of the good objects your correspondent enumerates. I know by personal experience, that they carry their "vindictive feelings" to the length of cancelling all services on the part

of any man suspected of taking the side of the working classes. They have "refused their Town Halls," and "compelled those who let rooms to us to break their compacts with us." They have "ruptured" and "broken on the wheel," and "drawn men's bowels out with prison gruel;" for all which, if I thought it was the way, I would gladly help to walk into their quarters, and subject every one of the individuals concerned, to the most rigid rule of retaliation. But all this does not in the smallest degree bear upon the question, of whether we ought to have moved upon a point we should have been the better for, with all or anybody that would go along with us.

To the concluding paragraph of the first of the two letters, I must reply, that any possible mal-treatment of the moral-force Chartists has not the smallest bearing on the question of whether we ought to join the middle classes or they to join us, when the facts are that we have it in our power to carry a point in our own favour by joining the middle classes, and no power at all to affect their joining us.

That the remedy for our case *would* include theirs, if they would only come, and the remedy for theirs will not include the whole of ours, though it will go some way to help it,—is not, it appears to me, an argument for cool-headed men to be led by, to reject what they might obtain, because somebody else will not do something they would better like.

There may possibly have been a time when there was some show of reason in the proposal to try how far the refusal to join the middle classes would operate to make them join *us*. But that day is long gone by. The middle classes are carrying their object without us; and what we have lost will be, that we shall have shown we were men who could not move when it was to help ourselves. Our blunder has been, in not knowing that we were the weaker vessel negociating with the stronger. That we were the weaker vessel and wanted to be the strong, was the very evil we set out to remedy.

The next letter is in reply to one of mine.

I turned the question "round," because I thought it then stood right way foremost, and did not before. Anybody has the power to judge, whether I did it a good office or not.

I did not reproach the Chartists "for not sinking the Charter," but for not taking the reasonable means to keep it afloat. I did and do blame them for "drawing off" from the middle classes at a time when they would have increased their own strength by doing the contrary.

Nobody can ever be too cautious with a Whig, nor with the

middle classes. But this does not justify a blunder in policy, by refusing to move to a visible advantage on the ground of caution. In fact, this cry of "caution," is one of the commonest resources of those whose object it is that we should never move at all. I should like to know, what there was to be lost; and what we have now, that we could not have had along with the other.

If the Chartists did a mistaken thing two or three years ago in refusing to move to the destruction of the Corn Laws, they did a spirited and an effective thing two or three weeks ago at Nottingham. Having done the one, the other was undoubtedly the best thing they could do to mend it. But it was not therefore to follow that the other was right. The Chartists have done a thing greatly for the advancement of their cause now, and neglected an opportunity two or three years ago. There was no connexion between one and the other; what was done at Nottingham might have been as well done and better, if the other mistake had been not committed. As evidence of at least sincerity in this opinion,—who has been more urgent in pressing the Nottingham policy, than myself who have always been the advocate of securing the opportunity of assisting to destroy the Corn Laws? Have not I carried the principle through, with varying success, at two elections, Marylebone and Manchester; and have not I crammed the public to indigestion, with lists of the 350 boroughs where there was an apparent opening for playing the Nottingham game? Surely I am not the man that ought to have the success at Nottingham thrown in his teeth.

I never wanted any man either "to sink or postpone" the Charter. I wanted to carry it on at the quickest rate; and I would say to the Chartists now, if you want to quicken the rate, go and join in pulling down some of the strongest holds of corruption and tyranny, which are in the fair way of coming down without you. The natural consequence of which will be, that you will be looked on as men who have not the genius to help themselves or anybody else, and whom consequently it is worth no man's while to help.

No new light seems to be thrown on the argument touching rights of "men" and of "pedlars." We are men, and we happen to be also pedlars. We are told, because your rights as men are more important than your rights as pedlars, let nobody lead you to your rights as men, through the recovery of your rights as pedlars. I cannot see that the state of the case is altered by anything that has been said.

Finally, I never attempted to "rebuke the working classes'

for adhering to the Charter, but for refusing to forward it by joining in the god-send which Providence placed before them.

London, 13 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LXII.

The Commercial Question at a new Stage.

Sir,—At all critical periods, the best and most useful policy for any particular portion of the interested to pursue, appears to be,—without spending more time on speculating on the motives or the sincerity of parties than is necessary to form a judgment of where the ice will bear and where not,—to see in what direction a point of advantage may be gained which insincerity cannot undo, nor future abandonment of professions counteract.

There is no objection to supposing, to any extent not visibly unreasonable, that the Whigs in their latest manœuvre are actuated by the desire of leaving what is called "a nest egg," and are at heart insincere in their desire for commercial reform. But the question still arises, not of what can *they* do, but what can *we* do. And here it is plain that we can do our best to advance and render irretrievable the impressions which the Whigs, against their will perhaps, have allowed to be made. The Commercial question has now got to the stage, so distinctly to be traced in the Slave-Trade question, the Catholic question, and the Reform question, when a ministerial party has been found to take it up, and pin its present or future fortunes upon at some time carrying it through. All analogy leads to the conclusion, that a question in this state is virtually settled, though the precise time may be uncertain.

The policy therefore, is to go as far as we can while the wind is fair. In this light your support of the Deptford Petition is very opportune. A few weeks ago, the landowners hardly believed the opposition to them serious. Now they find out, not only that they are opposed in front, but that there is a force on the other side of them, ready to stop them with a demand for compensation when they shall be broken and give way.

A point particularly to be looked to, is to protest against anything like stopping at the fixed duty the Whigs propose.

The manufacturing and water-borne interests declare their property to have been confiscated; and they are not found asking for a *moderate* confiscation, nor for a *fixed* confiscation, but for a removal of confiscation altogether, and a compensation at the back of it. All this could not have been heard a month ago. But the Whigs have given us a speaking-trumpet.

In all this I perceive the consummation of what I have always told the Chartists would befall them. The community is marching on the great strongholds of corruption and cruelty, the points on which the aristocracy was the strongest in possession and the most ridiculously weak in justice, and with the certainty of final success though nobody can define the month or hour;—and here have these unfortunates been persuaded to keep aloof from the action, by way of obtaining their own objects by themselves another time.

I know what common soldiers would do in such circumstances. They would cut and run, and nobody would keep them out of the thickest of the fight,

London, 13 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXIX.

Time to launch the Principle of Free Trade.

Sir,—There is little use in speculating on the reasons which have induced the ministers to make the present opening in the direction of Free Trade. But may we not hope that somebody will take the opportunity to openly launch the principle, that everything which is bought at a dear home or colonial market, when it might be bought at a cheaper foreign market, is at a loss to the community equal to the difference of price? This is what the country believes and feels; and we shall see how long it is before it finds its way into parliament.

As it has been the pleasure of the professing Liberals to rush to the prevention of every chance I might have had of launching this myself, do you think you have the power of persuading any of them to attempt it instead?

London, 13 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXXII.

Opportunity for the Friends of the Charter.

Sir,—Everything which I see, confirms me in the belief that the friends of the Charter have made a great advance. To you and me individually it must be agreeable, as evidence that our efforts at Marylebone and at Manchester (to name them in the order of time) have not been thrown away.

But with new circumstances come new duties. When a decisive advantage has been gained, the politic as well as the agreeable, points to endeavouring to improve it by conciliation. The greatest fruit of success is generally dependent on what is done afterwards. At this moment and with the examples that are before them, I am perfectly unable to form an idea of the reason which should prevent the friends of the Charter in Manchester, from making a demand which nobody could resist, for exercising their right of sending a representative to parliament. Places much less favourably situated than Manchester are doing it. The path has been trodden till it is bare; and the actual conjuncture of affairs might appear to have been made on purpose to invite the effort. Whiggery is in the death-rattle; but the most overpowering interest the friends of the Charter have in the result of the struggle, is in making it an opportunity for effecting a lodgment in the House of Commons. When the House of Commons is turned into the river, as somebody in it oddly said,—then treat it as other gone-by things are treated. But while it is the depository, whether for good or evil, of the actually operative power in the country, act there, and in as many places as you can besides.

What our friends at Manchester have got in their pipkin, I cannot tell; but I hope it is not anything publicity would spoil. If we knew the present crisis would blow over as others have done before, it would only be a reason why anything we have should be put into the oven, that it may be ready baked against another time.

London, 13 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Metropolitan Anti-Corn-Law Journal.

No. II.

A Tax for Rent, but not for Revenue.

Sir,—The most curious of political phænomena, is the effect which has been produced on the supporters of the Bread Tax in the House of Lords.

They view a tax of 55*s.* a quarter as essential to the good of the nation, because it keeps up rents; but they regard with terror a tax of 8*s.*, because they say it will act only as a means of revenue.

An interesting experiment it would be to ascertain, at what point or neighbourhood it is, that a tax on foreign corn ceases to be a good by raising rents, and becomes an evil by raising revenue. Down to what point in the scale, would their Lordships view a corn-tax with delight as raising money for themselves; and when would they boggle at the discovery, that it was dwindled into a mere instrument of raising money for the public?

Since their Lordships have declared point-blank against the tax for revenue, is there no where genius to lay it somewhere else, where, according to the ideas of our side at least, it should be like a weight placed on the horse's back, instead of being attached to his fetlocks or his nose? Or, at all events, could not we solace their Lordships by making the evil temporary, as by providing for the reduction of the fixed duty by 2*s.* annually?

When the aristocracy fights its battle thus, it is very hard, Sir, for a man with any constitutional tendencies that way, to refrain from swearing "as our dragoons did in Flanders," at the enormous folly of those men calling themselves "populars," who drew off and declared they would not come into the contest now, but would stand by for a little bye-battle of their own another time.

London, 13 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXX.

NATIONAL DEBT.—NO NATIONAL GAIN FROM CEASING TO PAY THE INTEREST.

SIR,—I feel honoured by the reference made to me by "Your Customer" on the subject of the National Debt, and shall gladly take the opportunity of stating the conclusions to which I have been led on that subject.

Why should we, what is called "pay off" the National Debt, if we could? If somebody else was to pay it for us, it would be a different thing; but why should we "pay it off" ourselves. To give a clearer idea of the process implied, suppose a ministry were to make the proposal to the country, that every man who now pays 4*s.* a-year in taxes towards the interest of the debt, should put down £5 and be quit of the present taxes for ever. *Why should men comply?* Would it not be plain, that if the thing was done, it was done by giving for it exactly what was of the same value in the market? Might not the man who lays down the £5, go into the market and buy with it a payment of 4*s.* a-year to him and his heirs for ever? What then has he got by the exchange? Manifestly nothing.

But this only proves he has *no* interest. Now for the interest on the other side. Would not the certain consequence be, that as soon as the nation was found to be without a debt, somebody would find out it was high time to contract one? If we are wise, then, let us continue as we are, so far as relates to being persuaded into putting ourselves to inconvenience for the sake of what is called "paying off the National Debt."

On this point I think it probable your correspondent will go along with me; but on another I am afraid he will not. I cannot give into the conviction, that the "debt was contracted in a depreciated currency, and not worth half the existing amount," implying as it is meant to do, that the fundholders get paid for what nobody ever gave. I have looked as narrowly into the subject as I could, aided by very laborious calculations made by a well-known friend of popular rights, Mr. John Childs of Bungay, and the result was, that if you consider the fundholders as one man, and examine when they got too much and when too little, and put the whole together, it will turn out that the fundholders in the aggregate are short of the promised per-centage on what they actually paid, by what is of the value of *eight millions and a half* paid down upon the nail. The whole of Mr. Childs's calculations will be found in the article entitled *Equitable*

Adjustment, in the Westminster Review for April 1833*. The composition of that article, with Mr. Childs's tables there given, convinced me that the cry of the fundholders' having got more than they ought, was founded on the mistake of reckoning all that any of them ever got too much, and sinking all that any ever got too little.

I have entered on this principally in justification of my belief, that no national relief from a funded debt can be got by refusing to pay the interest. I do not mean that a man cannot gain by not paying taxes; but I mean that if the property in the funds was divided so that every man held exactly the portion of the debt which his own taxes paid, he would be conscious that knocking off the payment would only be taking money out of one pocket to put it in the other; and that consequently when the debt is *not so* divided, there can be no gain in the aggregate, or nothing but what one man takes from another. And I state this the more, because I verily believe there are or have been notions abroad, that there would be nothing to be done but refuse to pay the interest of the debt, and the consequence would be a great increase of national power and wealth, of something the same kind as if some stranger had been found to make us a present of the principal.

And this is nothing like saying there is no harm in a National Debt. It is only saying that, as when a man loses a limb, the greatest mischief of all is that nothing can put it on again. Tyrants and despots well know this truth; they know, for instance, that if they were to conquer us and levy a contribution of a hundred millions sterling by the way of funding, we might twist and turn ourselves as we pleased afterwards, with no more chance than a little dog has of putting his tail on again, unless we could go to the capitals of those tyrants and despots, and there take it back again.

But the inference I most value from all this if it can be established, is that all puzzling about either paying off the National Debt, or refusing to pay the interest by way of mending, is time lost; and that the only way to reduce the pressure of a National Debt, is to get freedom of commerce that the country's ability may increase. A weight that sinks a vessel of a hundred tons to the water's edge, will be only comfortable ballast for a vessel of three hundred or of four. I am therefore for allowing *our state vessel to grow.*

London, 12 *May*, 1841.

* In Vol. II. p. 374, of the present Work.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XIX.

CHARGES AGAINST THE CATHOLICS.—CHARTISTS AT NOTTINGHAM.

SIR,—In the reference to my letter, which appears in the article on the Anti-Catholic Lectures in your paper of April 29, it strikes me that instead of "the whole of the commandments, were to be found in one out of four of the Catholic Catechisms," it should have stood "in *all but* one out of four." You will find this supported on recurrence to the letter itself, which is in your paper preceding, being that of April 22.

The facts are, that so long ago as 1825, exactly the same charges against the Roman Catholic Church were advanced by Sir Robert Peel in his place in parliament, with a view to oppose the progress of the Catholic Emancipation Bill; and I was induced to make my own examination into the case, for the purpose of stating the results in an article in the *Westminster Review**, subsequently disseminated under the title of the "Catholic State Waggon." And the results were these. I procured four different Catholic catechisms; by what precise means, after sixteen years I do not recollect, but certainly without collusion or selection of any kind. They all adhered to that mode of division, common to the Catholics and the Lutherans, by which what we call the first and second commandments, are run into one, and the commandment against coveting made into two. But in one out of the four, the heads of the commandments only were given; on the ground of its being "a Short Catechism." And of course the words "graven images" were not likely to appear, any more than the words "water under the earth," or any others in the body of the commandment. But in the course of this catechism, the unlawfulness of "praying to and serving images" was distinctly moved and insisted on. I am not able to say whether the Catholic Church may have some special pleading in reserve, as to what is and is not "praying to and serving;" or she may even have a fast-and-loose doctrine upon the subject, as the Church of England has upon the priest's power to absolve from sin, which she impresses on men in their hour of weakness, in her service for the visitation of the sick, but shrinks from producing before her followers in health, and with all their wits about them.

* The first article in the present Work.

What the Catholic Church may have of this kind, it is impossible for me to say; but what is clear is, that so far as my experiment went, nothing was proved against her from the catechisms.

I do not see how any lecturer can possess the power of disproving the statement above made. If he has collected a greater number of these "Shorter Catechisms," I trust "the inquisitive" who "inspect them at your office" will also extend their inquisition to ascertaining both whether there is any reason to suspect intended fraud under the explanation above and previously given, and what proportion these "Shorter Catechisms" bear to those which aspire to the rank of "Longer," and to which the same imputation may not apply.

And now to a subject of a more temporal nature,—except so far as all the above may be at bottom a quarrel for temporalities. The Chartists at Nottingham have broken through the panic dread of bringing in a Tory, and have thereby given their cause a lift which will never be forgotten. At the same time I must deny them the grace of novelty; for the Whigs once brought in five Tories at one election, to keep me from being elected. You will say I ought to be worth something, to be rated at such a price. But what I want now, is to urge on the Chartists, that what the Whigs began, themselves should follow. Above all things, I hope none of them will be turned aside by the last pretence of the Whigs, set up since the Nottingham election, that they will do something towards removing the Corn Laws. In the first place, what they propose to do, is the thing which all intelligent opponents of the Corn Laws most dread,—substituting a fixed duty, with a view to making it perpetual. And in the next place, they make the pretended move because they know nothing can come of it. It is very likely that before they go out, they will pretend to take up all the Five Points of the Charter in succession. When they had the power to do anything, they were for nothing but Finality. And now they are making these pretences to deceive us, or at the very most, to go out under the smoke.

The words for all Chartists now, should be Nottingham and the List of 350 Boroughs.

London, 10 *May*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXX.

JUSTICE IS NOT A NAKED STRUGGLE.

SIRS,—The point to which I was anxious to invite attention in my last, was that both on the ground of justice and of economy, there was a rule, a criterion, which prevented the question at issue from being a naked struggle between contending parties. When the judge decrees a payment in the way of restitution, it is not that there is a contest between the power of the sheriff with his halberd-men, and the power of the individual defendant who is doomed to restore. Nor will the case be at all parallel, if the vicious defendant should at some time meet the judge or the sheriff in a narrow lane, and there compel him to surrender the amount of the decision back again, with such interest as to defendant shall seem fit. He who takes from his neighbours against the rule of right (and particularly if he adds the application of force) is "a thief and a robber," and he who helps to effect a restoration is an honest man. There is nothing in it like "diamond cut diamond;" and it appears to be the interest of all and everybody, except the thieves, to keep this truth continually in sight.

In the same manner on the ground of Public Economy, what it was desired to maintain was, that it is not a question of whether this or that man shall take a certain thing, and the aggregate of the wealth and comfort of the community, takers and losers included, be the same as before; but that there is a certain state of things, to wit perfect freedom of industry and commerce for all classes, which creates the maximum of good, and that no man can effect a departure from this state, without taking more from other people than he gets for himself.

The want of limitation in the terms, which appears to have led to the present discussion, is probably of this kind. "The prosperity of the country depends entirely upon her manufacturing prosperity," if by that is meant that it depends on her manufactures being released from unjust fetters which mar their prosperity. But the prosperity of the country does not depend, nor would be advanced, by the manufacturers

putting impolitic restrictions on the owners of the soil in their turn. And in this view it was, that the parties in a petition in course of signature at Deptford, (See *Sun* of 5 May*), after stating that a bounty on foreign corn for twenty-six years would be the measure of the just compensation to the owners of commercial and water-borne property for the extent to which their property has been confiscated through the Corn Laws, intimate their readiness to give up the personal compensation, by commuting the bounty into a tax on Rent of equal value.

I think we cannot allow "our opponents to have as good a right to term us robbers," when "we are seeking to get restored, property of which we had previously been plundered." At least I believe it has been the habit of mankind, to make a considerable distinction between the cases.

London, 8 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXX.

"THE EQUABLE ENJOYMENT OF MONOPOLY."

SIR,—What *can* be the meaning of the reporters, when they make the Duke of Buckingham state that 120 petitions against the removal of the Corn Laws, signed by "farmers, tradesmen, clergymen, and labourers," affirm that they "do not ask for a monopoly under any circumstances, but simply that they may not be deprived of that protection which all classes of her Majesty's subjects have a right to enjoy"? To which the same authorities audaciously add, "Hear, hear."

Can anybody tell what this protection is that is alluded to? Is it the right of everybody to rob everybody, and throw half the proceeds each time into the sea? For to this would amount the fact, if it *were* the fact, that there was a general agreement whereby all men bought from each other at the dearest market, with a view to making the fortunes of themselves and one another.

But it is within everybody's knowledge that this is *not* the fact. There are a few dwarf specimens of monopoly found scattered here and there; but after taking out about three giant monopolies, as for instance those on corn, on sugar, and

* Appears also in p. 329 of the present Volume.

on timber, there is nothing that can at all support the assertion that there is a general system of the enjoyment of monopoly on the part of all classes of her Majesty's subjects. The manufacturers, who are the class most notoriously injured, have long since declared their willingness to give up all the fragments of monopoly which may be found in their possession, if the others may go along with them. The manufacturers therefore evidently protest against this theory of the equable enjoyment of monopoly.

The "agricultural interest" might "pass their lives in the peaceful enjoyment of their own property," if only they would consent not to enjoy the property of other people. It is upon this the feud is raised; and though it may not be settled directly as some may hope, it is in the sure way of being settled in the end.

London, 13 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XXVI.

PARLIAMENT NOT OMNIPOTENT.—HOW ONLY, BREAD CAN BE MADE PLENTIFUL.

SIR,—When I was a little boy and went to school on cold mornings, I remember being much impressed with the phænomenon, of certain other boys who carried burning touchwood between two oyster-shells; and being at the time engaged in making a perpetual motion on a carriage which was to be moved by means of a spring resting on its own axle-tree, I extended my designs to a kind of fiery perpetual motion, which, as I had heard that flower of sulphur was produced by sublimation, was to consist in burning a portion of brimstone first on one side of my receptacle and then, after it had passed over by sublimation, on the other.

I am afraid the same absence of applicability to practice, attaches to the project of your correspondent "A Reformer of the People," which is first detailed in your paper of May 15. He lays down what he intends by the phrase "a minimum of wages." It is "that sum, in relation to the price of food, below which wages should not [that is, ought not to be allowed to] fall." And he adds, "This is the principle of our poor laws; was a custom in Rome; and is even now in

Constantinople—a provision of a certain quantity of food per day for each stomach, work or no work, to be supplied from a public and common stock, where it cannot be purchased with wages. Without such a primary rule," your correspondent goes on to say, "human society can never be anything but a hell of disorder and misery among the multitude; nor would the repeal of the corn laws become an efficient remedy. Without this provision the poor are insulted with every project presented to their notice."

Setting aside all intention of departing from the due gravity of argument, and particularly of introducing anything like the "banter" which your correspondent protests against, I understand the proposition of your correspondent to be this,—That the evils of human society, whereby it is made a hell of disorder and misery, are the consequence of this fact, that the government has not appointed a public and common stock, from which a certain quantity of food per day shall be supplied for each stomach, work or no work, where wages will not purchase it.

Now, not to speak it profanely, if a government or a community had the power to say, "Let there be corn and there *was* corn," or if it possessed the faculty of repeating at pleasure the miracle of the loaves and fishes, there would be ground for agreeing in laying the blame on the government or the community, which starved its members through its neglect to institute a store, from which every member of the state should take what was necessary for his wants. But these powers not being present, I submit that the experiment must fall to the ground, like my mechanical and chemical speculations before alluded to. As in those cases, it is possible enough the plan might go on a little way. There may be no doubt that the first action of the spring might have sent the body of my carriage through certain inches in free space; or that the first combustion of my inflammable substances might have effected a grateful warmth. And there may be as little doubt that the institution of the public granary, where by Act of Parliament there is to be corn for those who want it, would end in feeding some of those who were the earlier subjects of the experiment. But, as in my other cases, there is no principle of continuation; the thing may go on, but it will only be till it stops; and there are rooted principles in nature, why the stop must be close at hand.

Corn is to be had for those who want it;—but how? It is to be had by Act of Parliament;—but will an Act of Parlia-

ment make it? Parliament has tried many strange things, but will it try its hand at an enactment that shall run "Forasmuch as many complain of want of food, be it enacted, that there shall be food for all accordingly"? It might be wiser if it said, "Be it enacted, that men shall be allowed to get food for themselves accordingly." But that would be removing the Corn Laws; which your correspondent protests against as inefficient.

On the subject of the "Spiritual Corn-Laws," I confess my understanding to be less, than must necessarily be that of an individual who has published a letter on it. So far as I have light, I am afraid the Church goes nearer to being "a Spiritual Corn-Law" itself, than being the instrument for removing one.

London, 20 May, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Mercury.

No. XXV.

The Time for Preparation.

Sir,—The "anarchical brawlers for universal suffrage" are much to blame if they do not give over both anarchy and brawling, and apply themselves to make the best of the opportunity now before them to get something like a portion of political power, and settle how they shall use it afterwards. On what they may do just now, depends, by possibility and the lamentable constitution of things, whether for the next seven years they shall be a party having representatives in parliament or not. I write this under the impression, which at this moment appears to be decidedly general, that the dissolution of parliament will not be immediately, and therefore there is time to organize and to prepare.

The list has been printed over and over, of 350 constituencies where the position of things is such, that the Chartists ought to examine whether they have not a chance of doing something. If the opportunity is not used while it is there, we may sigh as long as we please for it afterwards.

Let every man then be up and doing, and consider where or in what direction he may have the ability to extend the invitation to exertion. Either there is something worth acting for, or there is not. If there is nothing, then let us hear no more about it, and save a great deal of trouble.

If your own place has done its duty, what have other places done? for it will be of little use that you have done well, if nobody else does. Is there no committee, no centre of communication for all Scotland, whence exhortations can proceed and advice be given? If ever there was a time when the exertions of a few men might affect posterity, it is now.

London, 18 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XXII.

Excommunication for Politics.

Sir,—Is it really true, and without any jesting or mistake, that a religious society styling themselves "Independent Methodists," have proceeded to excommunicate brothers Markham and Swain, under the shadow of a declaration "that for members of a Christian society to take a conspicuous part in politics is injurious to the cause of Christ?

John Wesley did not think so; for the members of his society took a very conspicuous part in politics, even to fighting to the death in the ranks, for what they considered the rightful cause. He had a regular *imperium in imperio* in "our army in Flanders," which even the Duke of Cumberland, fat-witted as some circumstances of his life might prove him, had the genius to acknowledge; and when John Haime, who was Wesley's legate in charge of the church military, presented himself to some martinet commander-in-chief who told him he ought to have applied through his captain, the private soldier boldly replied, that he had communicated personally with the Duke of Cumberland, and saw not the necessity. The Methodists had their artillerymen, who with resolution equal to Witherington's in Chevy Chace, when "their legs were smitten off" desired to be laid upon a gun to die, that while life was in them they might exhort their comrades to fight manfully "for God and the House of Hanover;" and by the side of those very dragoons who "swore so terribly in Flanders," rode others of a different kind, who preached and prayed between stable hours, and when one arm was disabled by a shot, refused to go to the rear, declaring they had another left to hold their sword. Of a truth, there was something like "taking a conspicuous part in politics," among the Methodists of those days.

The fact is, religious bodies take a conspicuous part in po-

litics when they like them, and take none when they like them not. The Independent Methodists do not like brothers Markham and Swain to take the part in politics they do; if they took the other, there would be no objection.

My advice to our friends is, that they come out from among them, and be a church to themselves. And I suspect they need not look long for somebody to join. One of the most extraordinary sights in my life, was something under the style and title of a "Chartist church" at Birmingham. The church was recreating when I saw it; but I saw enough to know, that no man ejected for his politics needs be in want of a church.

London, 18 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LXIII.

DISCOVERY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

SIR,—It would be wronging the vigour and excellence of your counsels to the public, to proceed to mar them either with faint praise or unnecessary support. You carry things at once to the right point. The power of the aristocracy, the ability to tax everybody for their vices and leave themselves untaxed, is what we are at war with. And the schisms and temporary interests which spring up on the hostile side, are the matter on which we have to work.

Nothing could be done for us from friendship; it is not probable that much will be done for us from fear. But indirectly, the admissions are powerful and enduring. A large party in the state has declared, that the most wicked misspenditure of the people's money recorded in history, can only be provided for by surrendering some of the trammels on the people's industry. One part of the huge criminality denominated government, has by the act of Providence been set at issue with the other. The government has avowed, that it cannot spend your money for anti-national and infamizing purposes, and rob you by taxes on your powers of production too. It has declared that it would if it could; that it regulated the Reform Bill for the express purpose of trying whether it could not be accomplished; and that it should believe any government mad, which gave up the point unless under the pressure of imperious necessity. And now it tells you, this necessity is come. It informs you it has discovered,

that to rob you it is first indispensable you should be allowed to get something to be taken. In its condescension it professes, that sooner than be turned out of office it will allow the experiment to be made. For this you are to rush to the hustings, and support at all hazards so exemplary a government.

But take care. The balance is a nice one. You might chance to stumble on somebody who should be the people's rash friend. You might be ensnared into voting for somebody who would do more than make an annual motion for leaving thieves unhanged, and an occasional outbreak for free admission into the parks. This last is the style of politician that suits the popular cause at a period like the present. Plenty of them will come when called for, meek, sleek, and ready to undertake to serve you. You cannot be insensible to the security, which a seven years' provision of such representatives will produce.

London, 20 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXX.

Triple Crowns at Leicester.

Sir,—I think I have been informed that Leicester is "the head quarters of Dissent." What do your Dissenters at Leicester say to the excommunication of friends Markham and Swain, on the ground that "for members of a Christian Society to take a conspicuous part in politics, is injurious to the cause of Christ"? Do they dissent from this; or do they quietly let it pass, as meaning only, that for the members of a society to take a side in politics the society does not like, is injurious to the cause they undertake to call of Christ?

Surely it must have been raining triple crowns lately at Leicester. Has any note been taken of such a phænomenon? What sorts of heads are they, on which they have lighted? Many a church may have had in its heart to utter such an anathema against men's attention to their earthly business; but the small and independent church which flourishes at Leicester, has outdone them all. What may be their articles, thirty-nine or otherwise, to which a proselyte must conform? Are they that he believes in God, and will vote as his class-leader shall direct? There is something that ought to be historical, in this outbreak of the church within your borders.

There are plenty of churches willing enough to follow the example, if this goes down. But it may be doubted whether the aggregate result would be satisfactory, to that Dissent whose head quarters are said to be at Leicester.

London, 20 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXXIII.

POLICY OF A "SLAVE CLASS."—CALCULATION OF CONSEQUENCES.

SIR,—Though disappointed in any expectations I might have formed of seeing the signs of præternatural energy of preparation in your town of Manchester, I may be serving the cause elsewhere, by taking the assistance of your paper to disseminate an examination of the circumstances which should direct the friends of the Charter in any particular place, in their endeavours to raise the popular cause out of the dirt into which it has been trampled.

The purpose of the friends of the Charter is always to be assumed to be, to take the course, the fear of which shall be most likely to be effective towards promoting the entrance of a representative of their own opinions into the House of Commons. As the "slave class," they are the objects of the hatred of all the other classes which compose the state; and though attempts may be occasionally made to disguise it, the feeling will be seen displayed at large, in the bitter animosity with which any man will be pursued, who has ever been suspected of sincerely desiring to assist in rallying the "slave" interest. To give an example, nothing but the sentiment which would be manifested against a Slavery Abolitionist in the Southern States of America, can describe the hostility with which I find myself hunted down by commercial and manufacturing capitalists of all descriptions, merely because, though having agitated the very questions which they now perceive to be the life-blood of their interest, and at a period when their dullness was slumbering quietly in the gulph that was prepared for them, I am suspected of having done it with a view to the effects on the politically enslaved, and not with the single eye to the interests of the capitalists which would have merited their applause.

All ideas then of being what the popular diction would call "butter-finger'd" on the matter, are out of place. We are

the slaves of a country, trying to force our way to political equality; and as such, there is no wonder at the sword being drawn against us, and the scabbard thrown away, which we certainly need not trouble ourselves to pick up. We go for the chance of somebody's making peace with us, to avoid the greater evil we might inflict by war. We coax nobody, court nobody; we are slaves, and therefore we know that nobody can love us. But we can do this; between two parties, of which the *ins* are rather more odious than the *outs* so far as the more recent nature of the injuries can effect it, we have the power, if we can hold together, of acting in a way which shall induce one party of the thieves, for the sake of temporary advantage, to let down the other. We know the strength of their common interest in keeping out the people; but we know that a common interest is not always proof against particular convenience, and on this we build.

The friends of the Charter then, in an enormous number of the constituencies if they are active and united, have the power of inflicting a heavy blow upon the party they take against. And the question is, how it shall be the heaviest.

The professing friends of the Charter may be mainly divided into two classes;—those who have made up their minds that of the two powerful political parties in the state, the *ins* are if anything the worst, and therefore anything tending indirectly to exchanging them for the *outs*, instead of being an evil is of the nature of a good;—and those who have not. And the two ways of acting which offer themselves to deliberation, are those of setting up and maintaining a candidate of their own principles, or going over, as was done at Nottingham, to the party which the far-goers at least of the deliberants, believe to be the least undeserving of the two.

And here the question of consequences must depend entirely on which course will carry most votes into the ranks hostile to the party intended to be attacked. For example, let it be supposed there are 1000 Tory votes, 1000 Whig, and 100 Chartist. If the course be taken of voting with the Tories, some will vote with the Whigs, and some not vote at all. Suppose then that out of the hundred, 40 refuse to vote at all. Of the remainder, if 30 vote with the Tories and 30 with the Whigs, the result is a *tie* as before; if 31 vote with the Tories and 29 with the Whigs, the result is a majority of 2 to the Tories; and *vice versâ*. So that the question of policy entirely depends, on whether of those who finally vote, a greater number will vote on one side than on the other. In other words, to gain anything by voting for the Tories, the

Chartists must be assured that a greater number of those who would have consented to vote for a Chartist candidate if there had been one, will not vote for the Whigs.

This is of some importance, because there is danger of delusion from the idea that every individual who goes over to the other side counts for *two*. So he does, if he goes by himself; but not if at the same time there goes over a man to the opposite party, who would have joined him in voting for a candidate of their own.

Examples in both kinds are presented by Nottingham and Manchester. At the first it is probable from the results, that the Chartists went over together, and were not neutralized by an equal number of weaker brethren voting for the other party. At Manchester, when the Whig subornation of perjury had precluded the taking of votes for the candidate of the Charter, it is probable that for every Chartist who voted with the Tories, two voted with the Whigs; which was what the subornation was intended to effect.

A slave class must live and learn. And the first thing they must unlearn, if it is yet to do, is to sweep out all foolish fond expectations of profiting from anything but the self-interest of their enemies.

London, 20 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXXI.

Can more Food be created, by making the Land shift Hands?

Sir,—My desire to enter into "an amicable controversy" with Mr. James Orange, had its origin in nothing but finding his signature to a letter in your journal of 19 April 1841, which I took for granted was inserted to invite discussion on the subjects contained. And on referring to my letter (No. 27 in your journal of April 23), in which this desire was announced, I find such an absence of anything like a sarcastic or scornful spirit, or a desire to hold any person up to "ridicule," that if the assumption of this is not an innocent *ruse* on the part of Mr. Orange to attract attention to our correspondence, I can only refer him to the resource of publishing the parts which he complains of, and so taking the judgment of the public.

What I note is, that Mr. Orange has not answered any of the objections advanced against the contents of his letter. He

intimates that my questions were many. Not so many, but that the whole of them may be repeated here, and answers requested.

The bearing and upshot of Mr. Orange's letter on which I asked for "controversy," after examining what parts are introductory and what confirmatory or by way of improvement, is that the sufferings of the industrious classes will not be effectually relieved, till they possess what the writer names "a small, but to them important, direct beneficial interest in the land." And this he distinctly speaks of, as that by which, "if generally and suitably encouraged, much might be done in comparatively little time, towards annihilating poor's rates and pauperism through the length and breadth of the land," and "at the same time giving the nation *plenty*, that natural concomitant of peace." Mr. Orange certainly rates one or both of us too low, if he thinks there is any necessity for asking for the "*subject*" of the controversy now.

I opposed, by asking how Mr. Orange would have applied his theory if he had been in that Turkish frigate, where the captain went to sea with a short stock of water, and sold it to the highest bidder;—whether he would have mended the case by giving the passengers "a direct beneficial interest" in the water that was on board;—whether "intellectual improvement" would have done any thing for them, unless it could have been directed into the course of forcing the commander to admit water from some neighbouring port. And I now repeat the questions, with the view of ascertaining first, whether it is admitted that in the case of the Turkish frigate nothing could have done any good but what *increased the quantity of water*, and next whether the same is admitted in the other case, namely, that no alterations in the tenure of the working classes can give them more to eat, unless it is accompanied by the circumstance, of increasing what is to be eaten.

If this is admitted, then the controversy is reduced to whether the supposed alteration in the position of the working classes would produce more to eat or not. On which it was clearly premised in the way of precaution, that the dispute was not whether some or any of the individuals who are to become possessed of the new "beneficial interest" would be the better for it, but whether all that was given to them, must not be taken from somebody else, if the fact was to be after all, that the quantity of food was not increased.

And towards the settlement of the controversy as thus

stated, it was asked, whether the smallest tendency could be shown for the new arrangement to effect the production of more food. The complaint had always been, that great land-owners and farmers beat the little ones out of the field; which was tantamount to saying they could produce more food with a given expense, and consequently more upon the whole. And it was further asked, where the lands are, which the new comers are to cultivate, and which were not cultivated before; —*who* could show any land which was not cultivated under the old system, if it could be cultivated with a profit?

These questions, substantially two, and with their utmost branches only four or five, are what were in my original letter. And they are repeated here, under the conviction that if not answered they convey strong objections to the expectation of creating plenty by making the land shift hands.

London, 19 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XX.

Taxes for Robbery.

Sir,—The answer to your "simple-minded person" is easily given. The reason why the sugar and timber duties were not reduced long ago, is because they were not kept up as instruments of revenue, but as instruments of robbery. As instruments of revenue, they would have produced more by being lowered; as instruments of robbery, the higher they were, the more effective. And so they were kept up to a point which manifestly injured their productiveness; the difference being submitted to by the government, on account of the satisfaction it gave the robbers.

But the application is not limited to the case where duties are found screwed-up to the diminution of their product; it extends to all duties where the object is to force the citizen to put money into the pocket of some monopolist. All duties on foreign articles are strongly to be suspected of coming under this head; for there is almost always some other article which the object is to cause to be consumed instead, and so put something into the pocket of the dealer. And this is not the worst; for they not only put something into the pocket of the dealer out of that of the consumer, but

they put into it half what they take from the community, and throw the other half away.

In fact there is but one mode of taxation which is above suspicion, and that is a tax on property. Tax what you have got, and not your means of getting; just as you put the burthen upon your horse, and do not attach it to the legs that are to carry him. But this is precisely what will be resisted, by the same dishonest interests which support the other plan. The nation is just waking to the great question, of whether taxation is to be laid in the places where it is least felt and which are best able to afford it, or whether it is to be the plaything of thieves, to be laid on as may best suit their individual convenience.

London, 17 *May*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXXI.

Tax on Bread for Revenue.

Sirs,—A most important opportunity has just arisen, for an industrious community like yours to exert itself in the way of petitioning both Houses of Parliament.

In the Upper House Lords Ripon and Winchilsea have entered their decided protest against a duty on foreign corn for purposes of revenue. It is of the highest importance that they should receive immediate popular support. The case, in fact, appears to be open to compromise; and moderation is always favourable to those who display it.

The Petitions then should be, for the removal of the acknowledged evil of the proposed ministerial duty, by gradations of Two Shillings annually. The Petition to the Peers, should be forwarded to either of the noble lords the petitioners should select; and there would probably be little difficulty in finding a presenter for the other, if not on the ministerial side, at all events on that with which the noble lords are considered as politically connected.

The evident propriety of such a course, and the necessity for promptitude, will dispense with my troubling you with any lengthened observations.

London, 15 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

No. XXVII.

" Temporary Pressure."

Sir,—Can anybody tell a time when we were not labouring under "a temporary pressure"? I have no doubt the captain of the Turkish frigate, "heard with the utmost pain and grief the details of individual suffering which were brought under his notice." But he took special care to allow no water from a neighbouring port.

Shall we not view in all these turnings of the game, the certainty of the way in which it must ultimately finish?

Hull, 26 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Illuminator.

No. XXIII.

Opposition to the Corn Laws.

Sir,—It may possibly have reached your knowledge before the arrival of this letter, that I have given the Whigs at Hull the opportunity of evincing the sincerity of their opposition to the Corn Laws.

As one of the oldest and most persevering of the opponents of those laws, and who has served the general cause of Reform for this borough in parliament with great labour and expense, there must be some strong reasons if the moment is chosen for declaring their preference for two Tories, to seeing me reinstated in my place as one of the candidates of the popular choice.

Of such reasons I can only imagine the possibility of three.

1. That though an enemy of the Corn Laws, I have been so rather from a concern for the interests of the working classes, than for those of the manufacturing capitalists.

2. That in reference to the interests of the working classes or anybody else, I have always represented a great portion of the value of the abolition of the Corn Laws to consist in the tendency to the promotion of further Reform.

3. That I have resisted a local plan for securing votes by an outlay of money, in which the attempt had been made to involve my name.

After this explanation I may probably be permitted to request the attention of the Reformers of Leicester to the progress of operations.

London, 24 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LXIV.

HULL ELECTION.

SIR,—I will not occupy your columns at this time further than to say, I hope we shall do our duty at Hull in the struggle for popular rights now commencing throughout the country. On some points we are already a pattern for other places. The Chartists are behaving beautifully. I never think of them without likening them to the Puritan "hill-folk" of the olden time, dispersed, persecuted, sometimes perhaps not altogether right, but still containing the root of the matter in them, and waiting only for favouring circumstances to bring them into the sunshine of success.

Their influential representatives have recognized in the most explicit manner, the duty of joining with all and anybody that will enable them to gain a step in their own course. If the precise terms in which they do it are a little grotesque, it must be remembered that men under suffering are not given to taffeta phrases. The act, and its consequences, are not on that account the less substantial.

Hull, 25 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXXI.

ERASTIANS AND CAMERONIANS.

SIR,—The question is brought to issue here, of how far the "Erastians and Cameronians" of present times, are capable of forming an effective combination. The odds are

many, that we shall diverge either into a "right-hand extreme" or a "left-hand falling off;" but "Claver'se" and his black horse are upon us, and we must hold the bridge if we can.

The evident motive to which we are to look, for the holding in union of this motley force, is the consciousness which must be impressed on every individual, that not only the present but the future interests of all are vitally involved.

Hull, 26 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXXIV.

Experiment at Hull.

Sir,—I believe the experiment has been fairly set on foot at Hull, of how far two parties, the extremes of which regard each other with feelings of considerable dislike, but checked by the presence of a large body who are anxious only for a general success, can hold together in the face of a determined and united host who are adverse to both.

The experiment may be a dangerous one; but "out of this nettle danger, we pluck the flower safety." The scene is of the more interest, because it involves the relations to exist in future between two political divisions of the community, which though at this moment unequal in point of substantial power, are manifestly progressing daily towards the reduction of the difference.

Hull, 26 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXXII.

Test of Sincerity.

Sir,—As I take for granted, that an object of your correspondents at large, is among others to get up friendly

discussions on points where the general interest is concerned, I take the liberty of representing my doubts of the strength of the argument of Mr. Barber in your last number, which would infer that it is improper our manufactures should go abroad, or go in increased quantity, because *the manufacturers are in rags at home.*

I confess myself to be strongly impressed with the possibility, that the fact of our manufactures not going abroad, or not going to the extent which might be practicable, may be the precise reason why our manufacturers at home are clothed in rags.

I know it may be urged, that to take possession of the cloth which might be destined for abroad, and apply it to the fabrication of cloaks, or anything else which has superseded the original fig-leaves, for the manufacturing operatives, would effect the removal of the individual suffering complained of. But so would any other interference with what is, at the time being, considered the right of property. The object of government, I imagine, is not to determine how far private benefit might be derived from interferences from time to time with the right of property, but so to regulate the laws generally, that the property of the poor, which is their industry, shall be preserved from invasion by the interested restrictions of the other portions of society.

If the workman who turns a lapidary's wheel, and who it is to be presumed is remunerated at the same rate as any other kind of unskilled labourer, were to represent that the jewels ought not to be sent abroad, while he himself was not allowed the smallest particle of them in the way of ornament, I think the strong heads of the working classes in general would perceive, that there was a want of connexion, or an erroneous connexion, in the argument conveyed;—that there might be good and valid reasons why the lapidary's labourer like others should be better paid, but that the way to remedy, was not to stop the lapidary's wares.

At the same time I should be the last in the world to intimate a doubt of the sincerity with which the argument is advanced. The place from which I write, will suggest to you that I am engaged in an experiment upon the sincerity in a very different quarter. The Whigs have pitted their existence on their desire to remove the Corn Laws. I have consequently been unable to resist the importunities of my acquaintance here, that I would afford the opportunity of testing their sincerity, by the alacrity with which they will support one of the oldest and most persevering opponents of

those laws, and who adds the recommendation of having been principally actuated by a zeal for the advancement of further reform.

Hull, 25 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XXI.

The Iron is in our Souls.

Sir,—As the Whigs, though "they often take leave, are loth to depart," permit me again to impress on you the importance of urging your co-patriots to improve the opportunity to the advancement of the popular cause. I know too much is not to be expected from the unrepresented. It is part of their misfortune, that they have been cut off from the formation of those habits of activity and combination, by which free men push their interests and their wishes. But this is a component part of the evil to be encountered. We did not undertake to call the free but the "slave class" into liberty. In other countries the slave has made head, or at all events writhed himself into some advantage. The Irish slave, apt as he is to be made the subject of bargain and compact to the betrayal of his helpers, has decidedly bettered his condition. It is here only that we lie effortless, and consequently hopeless. Why, when there wants nothing but a general attack on the political power of those who have deceived and wronged us, is there not an organization from one end of the country to the other, among the down-trodden? Alas, the iron is in our souls. It is not that there is any want of the physical means, or of somebody to show the way and call to follow; but the mischiefs of habitual oppression have weighed us down. The enemy calculates on our quiescence, and we bear him out in his estimate.

London, 24 *May*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXXII.

LETTERS ON THE SCIENCE OF CIVILIZATION.

SIRS,—Highly estimating, as I do, the Letters on the Science of Civilization by Mr. T. J. Dunning which appear in your paper, may I, as an old labourer in the vineyard, be permitted to point out a part in No III in your last, where it strikes me the author might keep closer to the forcible analogy he has begun with?

When water rises in price in a besieged town or during the march of a caravan, is it the charge made by the holder which enables him to obtain so much, or is it the circumstance of scarcity?

Clearly the last, and not the first. For if the holder chuses to ask the smallest quantity beyond what the scarcity will enforce, he will be unable to obtain it.

My belief is, that a question of the same kind is practically involved in the dispute whether rent *forms part of the price* of corn. That it is charged in the price, there can be no doubt; any more than what is got for the water. But by *forming part of the price*, something else is usually meant; and if your correspondent concedes the term, he will find this something coming against him. The main point of dispute with Mr. Ricardo and his followers, is whether rent makes price, or price makes rent; and though attempts have been made to ridicule the distinction as one of words only, it diverges into marked hostility on the subject of Tithes, to the extent of claiming to prove that Tithes make the price of bread, instead of bread settling the value of the Tithe, the final result of which is an erroneous conclusion on the question whether if Tithes were abolished tomorrow, they would not be immediately taken by the landlords in the rent.

Hull, 22 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXXI.

" LIVE AND LET LIVE."

SIR,—What can a man mean who signs himself " LIVE AND LET LIVE," and the first specimen of his notions of living, is that other people must be taxed to keep him?

He cannot live without a tax. To be taxed for him, he thinks is the natural condition to which men were born. And to live by the produce of a tax, he considers to be " to learn and labour truly, to get his own living in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call him."

Why should not the manufacturers set up the same plea of " Live and let live," in support of a bounty on foreign corn?

Hull, 26 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the olton Free Press.

No. XXVIII.

RAT-CATCHERS' WOES.

SIR,—The monopolists are putting out dolorous addresses to the tradesmen and shopkeepers. It has occurred to me to think what an amusing parody might be drawn up, addressed to the tradesmen of Jerusalem, and remonstrating against the mischiefs which would be caused by withdrawing the Roman armies from the siege.

What losses to the owners of lands inside the Roman line! how heavily these would fall in the end on the trading community! what destruction to all capital engaged in gathering grass for salads! how the value of rats and other domestic quadrupeds would be reduced in the market, and all who had been employed in their production thrown upon the manufacturing interest for support! What lowering of wages in consequence! and all through the rash experiment, of removing the state of siege!

I think some of your correspondents might usefully exhaust the subject of these rat-catchers' woes.

Hull, 3 *June*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XXVI.

Flag of the Charter.

Sir,—The course which I have all along taken the liberty to urge upon the friends of the Charter, appears to have succeeded at Hull. The white flag of the Charter is acknowledged, and flies in union with the orange of the older shades of Liberals. We owe this result to the firmness of the friends of the Charter here, and to the action of a strong section among the other Liberals, who, though avoiding the name "everywhere spoken against," are still with us in everything but the name.

The greatest pains have been taken to carry along with us the consent and full agreement of the most ardent friends of the Charter; and I trust that nothing will prevent us from arriving at a favourable result.

Hull, 26 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

No. LXV.

Bluff Hal.

Sir,—The gruel here, appears to be "thick and slab." You cannot possibly know, neither can I tell you, a *sanglant* joke the Irishmen in the House of Commons have upon the small connexion there was between the Reformation and any meritorious design in the powers that brought it about. The present, with variations, seems to be the same case. And just as little policy as our forefathers would have shown in refusing the Reformation through doubts as to the precise motives of bluff Hal, shall we have, if any of us neglect the passing opportunity, because we could have imagined better reasons for going along with us, and a better manner of enforcing them.

Hull, 1 *June*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Leicestershire Mercury.

No. XXXI.

Peace at Hull.

Sir, You will perhaps be doing service, by allowing me to say, that we are going on here in all peace and harmony, and like the man who stands between the legs of the compasses, escaping "many evils that others endure."

No war or battle's sound, is heard within our borders; while it is understood that shillelaghs rain at Manchester, and men are arrayed against each other, who might just as well have been agreeing to squeeze the monopolist for a large loaf.

In all this there is matter for study, and perhaps for edification.

Hull, 3 *June*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Manchester Advertiser.

No. XXXV.

Shillelaghs at Manchester.

Sir,—Unless there be exaggeration by the way, we hear that at Manchester broken heads are more plentiful than dumplings. At Hull, on the contrary, we are doing our work, as Blackwood said, "in peace and jollity;" and it is not clear we may not be able to beard the giant Monopoly, in his den in the East Riding. This seems to be the difference between knowing how to go about our work, and not knowing. Truly our lot is fallen on pleasant places; for an Irishman's shillelagh is no plaster for the pate it lights upon.

Hull, 3 *June*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Nottingham Review.

No. XXXIII.

The Chartists.

Sir,—As a sort of continuation of my letter in your last, may I be allowed to state that the question at Hull appears to

have been amicably settled in a manner which brings us to a fair stand-up contest with the declared opponents of all political reform.

The Chartists have behaved with the wisdom of the serpent, and I doubt not, with the innocence of the dove. I take the opportunity of saying in behalf of a people everywhere spoken against, that nobody will be the worse for entertaining a higher estimate than has commonly been done, both of their principle and of their power.

Hull, 2 *June*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Perth Chronicle.

No. XXII.

"Rude and Rascal Commons."

Sir,—When the upper classes fall out, the under ones come by their rights. There is at this moment a grand division in the upper classes, one half standing out for their unjust encroachments, and the other half, from political circumstances, being obliged to sink their personal or class interests in their political.

Here, then, is the moment for the "rude and rascal commons," as the Church of England calls them in her Homilies, to bestir themselves. As in old time they wrought themselves forward between the king and the feudal lords, sometimes appealed to by one and sometimes by the other, so now they should seize the opportunity for going with the party where they shall gain most strength.

I think, Sir, if you look around you, you may find reasons in your own neighbourhood, or if the expression is clearer, in your own pages*, why the popular interest should make head, if they can, against the "glorious constitutions" of various kinds they find bequeathed to them by ancestral darkness.

Hull, 31 *May*, 1841.

To the Editors of the Sheffield Iris.

No. XXXIII.

The Agricultural Fum-Hi.

Sirs,—Will it not occur to every person, that the delicate anxiety expressed by the agricultural monopolists, for pre-

* An allusion to some of the Tory manifestos connected with the elections.

serving the country independent of other countries, resolves itself into a desire to limit the wealth and population of the country to what can be kept upon the landlords' corn, and extinguish the rest, the landlords at the same time benefiting by the increased pressure for food?

The "great principle," the "wise," the "politic," and the "safe," resolves itself into this and nothing else. We are to populate up to what can be fed at starvation prices, and starvation price for *all* corn is to raise rents everywhere. It is not that an increased price is to be given for the particular corn which is grown with difficulty and at great expense, as for instance the corn grown upon flag-stones; but the price of all corn, including that on the richest land, is to be raised by the same amount, and the difference go to increase the rents.

What will become of you at Sheffield, if this independence of other countries is established? For, to say nothing of its effects through the shutting-out of corn, it cuts you off from all possession, and all hope, of foreign trade at all. If you make a gross of knives to send abroad under any circumstances or any form, that is being dependent on other countries; for if other countries chuse to hinder it, they can. The prohibition is therefore levelled at foreign trade in the abstract. "The Celestial Empire must not traffic with outside barbarians," is the real dictum of the agricultural Fum-Hi.

Hull, 29 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

No. XXXII.

Question of Monopolies.

Sir,—I only write to show you, that in the bustle preparatory to an Election, we can think of our friends in other quarters. The question of Monopolies or No Monopolies is here fairly brought to issue; and the only fault we have to find, is that our adversaries will not "peel" upon the other side. We suspect they are reserving themselves for such an onset at the last, as shall make the day memorable in the annals of Political Economy.

Hull, 3 *June*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Dundee Chronicle.

No. XXVII.

Candidates who "will explain their Views."

Sir,—I am much amused with men who come before a constituency, and say "they will explain their views." Has the constituency no "views"? And is it not the reasonable thing, that the constituency should look out for those who have in times past given the greatest evidence of will and power to promote the constituency's views, rather than open shop for hearing who, under the temptation of an election, will condescend to come the nearest in his professions?

When a country is in a state of agitation from civil war, the contending parties do not commit their cause to any gentleman of a military cut, who will be so exceeding kind as to say he thinks he can consent to take their side; but they inquire who in times past has displayed the deepest concern, and made the most strenuous efforts in evidence of his trust-worthiness. The infirmity of all promisers is, that they will say the most they can when they are out, and do the least they can when they are in. The important question always is, has a man given proof of any real intent to carry forward your cause to success; or does he come for the sake of strutting for a time in your uniform, and enjoying the "pay and provent" which, either in meal or in malt, may be therewith connected? And we do not see parties in such circumstances, too suddenly exalting a man from the mere fact of his having come over from the opposite side. It may be right to give a certain encouragement; but that a man was serving last year in the enemy's ranks, does not necessarily make him a general in ours.

When a party is found adopting the policy here held out for dispraise, the inevitable consequence seems at the very least to be this,—that such party contemplates no progression, but is anxious only to secure a certain number of men who will say yes or no when they are bid.

Hull, 31 *May*, 1841.

To the Editor of the Metropolitan Anti-Corn-Law Journal.

No. III.

An Election the true Arena.

Sir,—At the present moment I will not engage your pages further than by endeavouring to impress, that a *contested election* is the true arena for the establishment of Free Trade and Anti-Corn-Law principles. Not an election where a few magnates settle the matter over their champagne, and turn it over to be finished by a few voters over their ale. But one where the candidates and their supporters, invade the household-gods of both electors and non-electors,—appeal to their reason and the bread-basket,—ask the women if Jack and Jem are not sitting in the corner, because trade is stopped by Act of Parliament,—if the dock-yard is not silent, because goods may not be carried out for corn,—and if the bankrupt master was not ruined, because a sentry in the shape of a Custom-house officer was put upon his counting-house.

After all that has been done, it is surprising what darkness yet prevails. Agitating here under the popular flag, some of the shipwrights came to ask, *if I seriously believed* their trade was affected by the Corn Laws. This is what you may call being white for the harvest; and true it is, that in comparison of the want, the labourers are few.

Will you allow me to point out to you, the maritime and water-borne men as eminently calculated to be energetic agents in the present Holy War. It is in fact a struggle between the owners of the land and of the water. When the agriculturists at Lincoln or elsewhere, have clearly laid down the law that it would be no breach of the peace, I think we could get up such a "hurrah" of water-borne Cossacks, as should bring both horse and foot of the agriculturists to reason.

Hull, 16 *June*, 1841.

(The following extracts from Election Proceedings in 1841, are inserted for their connexion with the subjects treated elsewhere.)

ADDRESS

To the Electors and Non-Electors of Hull, at a Meeting in the Free-Masons' Hall, Mytongate, 21 May, 1841.

Mr. John Peck was called to the Chair, who shortly stated the object of the meeting.

Colonel Thompson came forward to address the meeting. He said—Gentlemen, the chairman has so well commenced the business of this meeting, that I will take advantage of it to avoid going over the same ground, and proceed at once to explain our present position. Some few years ago I was your representative; and in this capacity I did, what everybody does not do with their constituents, correspond with you twice a-week. If I had done wrong therefore, you might always have corrected me; but I believe the fact was I gave satisfaction to most of you, and even, so far as the thing was practicable, to many who were our political opponents. But at the next election, unexpected courses were taken against me by those we thought our friends, religious differences were exaggerated and exasperated, and recourse had to ancient relatives, to beg of me in the name of my father (who I doubt not yet lives in the recollections of some of you), that I would not come to a place where certain defeat, they said, would throw discredit on his memory. Believing there were other places where my success would be assured, and being in fact at that moment declining offers on the principle that I would not encourage division in the Liberal party by standing against a Whig, I to my loss tried the other course, and through a succession of accidents failed after all. And now I put it to your own knowledge, whether the result was not that two Tories were brought in for Hull, instead of two Liberals with a good majority; and whether two seats in a neighbouring town, and one in the East Riding, were not given triumphantly to the Tories as the consequences. So that I might say five Tories were brought into parliament, to keep me out. On the next occasion when an election was expected, union appeared to be re-established; but was broken up in consequence of circumstances to which

I will not further allude, than by repeating the declarations I have made publicly to you before, that I had no concern with the transactions which took place. And now that another election is anticipated, I understand there is a sect, a section, of professing Liberals, who hold out in the refusal to unite with us. To this section I will address myself; with this section, I will hold an argument. What is it I have done? or what is it I have not done? Is it that I have done too little? or is it that I have done too much? Or is it, that though it may be very right to do right, yet it must be done by the right man too? Gentlemen, there was, as you may have heard, another election,—in Marylebone; and there too, the policy was followed of bringing in a Tory to keep me out. The men who did it, knew unless they shut their eyes, that there was not the possibility of bringing in the candidate they set up to oppose me. They knew, or if they did not everybody else did, that there was a band of electors sufficient to turn the election, determined to go all lengths to keep out a supporter of the New Poor Law. By what power except the gift of prophecy, they discovered the necessity of keeping me out at such a sacrifice, I cannot tell; but so it was. They foresaw that they were going to enter into compacts and agreements with which I was not to be trusted; and so they preferred a Tory there. At Manchester the same spirit was displayed. There was assuredly no obligation on anybody to give the election to our side; but there was no necessity for turning the Anti-Corn-Law Journal on us afterwards. Another thing that happened, I will mention for your warning. The Manchester men are not good at getting up in the morning; and by nine o'clock word had been sent to the poll-clerks that the candidate had resigned, and so they refused to record votes for him. I believe you will agree with me, that nothing is more competent to account for the number of recorded votes being small. Gentlemen, I am not aware that I can refer to any parliamentary miracles performed by me as your representative; but I was at all events considered as a man worth opposing. One subject however there was, on which it is within your own knowledge that I had laboured perseveringly, and begun when many others had their eyes closed to the mischief. You know that for fourteen years I have been the incessant assailant of those restrictions upon trade, which shut your port, stop your ships, starve your mariners, and send your merchants into the *Gazette*. I now then point to that sect or section I began with mentioning, and ask them if they mean to prove the.

sincerity of themselves and party in their declared opposition to the Corn Laws, by opposing one of the oldest and most notorious opponents of that system. If to oppose the Corn Laws is their object, what is their fault with *me?* Is it possible that this sect or section should confess, that it is because I opposed them in the interest of the working classes, rather than of the capitalists? On another and kindred question, I maintained opinions on which we ought to test their sincerity. I never denied that there was necessity for prudence and economy in a system of Poor Laws; but I said that the true way to go to work, was to allow people to keep themselves. I have always held, and submit it to you now, that a man may build a wall, and fill it with the hardest and heaviest stones, and cover it at top with broken bottles, and all the spikes that ever were invented to keep the people that are outside from jumping in, or those that are inside from jumping out,—if only he will not insist on crushing our heads against it afterwards. Build Poor-Law Bastilles to your hearts' content, only do not make laws to drive us into them. On all these subjects you the working classes have the deepest interest, and you have come to the determination that you will have the means of effectually declaring your opinions, in other words that you will have political power. And have you asked for anything unfair? How many of you are there, who have banded together in this demand? (Cry of "Three Millions.") I take for granted you will count the women too; so that on this calculation you ought to have a hundred and thirty representatives in the House of Commons. Have you a hundred, have you thirty, have you five? Be quite sure then you are on the right side at present, in saying you will have a member where you can. And we will have it quietly and peaceably too. If any direct attempt had been made upon you, such as has been seen in France and Canada, I hope you should have found me and mine where the exigency of the moment should direct; but extension of political privileges must be followed peacefully. Do not you see that things are going in our favour? Have we not, for instance, a member for the West Riding, who though born in the aristocratic class and owing all he has to land, has yet the genius to maintain that his class derives no ultimate benefit from the infliction? And how should they? Have not they children to keep; and of what use is it to any man that his rents are raised from £500 to £600, if all his children are to be turned upon his hands without the possibility of finding them profitable employment? If he makes them merchants, they will

go into the *Gazette*. If they are lawyers, they will find more lawyers than briefs; if they are medical men, there is nobody sick that can afford to pay a doctor. If they are clergymen, that profession too is overstocked, and births, deaths, and marriages cannot keep pace with the demand for fees. And now I will sit down, and wait to answer any questions that may be asked me. Well then, if nobody will make any objection, I must make one to myself. I have heard from several quarters since I have been here, that I am charged with—what think you—corresponding with Tory journals. Now though I plead guilty to corresponding with many journals, I may ask of the organs of the press who sit below, whether they ever heard of there being one Tory. The nearest I can come to anything of the kind, is that I once wrote to the London *Times* to correct a mis-statement I had fallen into, and the *Times* in the most handsome manner corrected it immediately. To any other objections, I must answer as I can find them out. It cannot, I think, be objected to any of us, that we ever attacked anybody in the possession of their just rights, or did anything but ask to be allowed to keep our own. But you must do your own work, and not expect anybody else to do it for you; you might as well ask somebody to make your voyage to Hamburgh while you stay at home. If it has been my fortune to be deserted by others, it is only the more reason why I should stick by you. I stand here then as the candidate of the Working Classes; and while we have life and health and strength (and it is not very likely we shall all break down together), let us go on here and everywhere to the promotion of our object, which is the attainment of a fair share of political influence for the industrious and the unrepresented.

TO THE

ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS

OF

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.

GENTLEMEN,—I again present myself for your Suffrages; and under circumstances which I trust will be attended with the ancient success.

My claim to appear among your Candidates rests chiefly on my having been one of the most persevering opponents of the

Restrictions upon Maritime Industry which are oppressing your Town. On other questions there may have been earlier and more assiduous advocates; but on this, I have something like precedence.

The struggle is between the Owners of the Land and the Owners of the Water; between those whose property is valuable because it produces what is to be eaten, and those whose property produces what ought to be exchanged for what is to be eaten.

It is the question of whether Foreign Trade is to be prohibited by Law, except so far as your earnings shall be shared with those who neither toil nor spin.

It is *not* the question of whether you shall be the Oppressors or the Oppressed. If you demanded that no landowner should sell his corn without paying a tax to assist *you* in importing foreign, it would be the counterpart of the oppression from which you insist on being relieved.

The Landowners say, there shall be no Trade or Navigation but as they are to be the better for it. The sloop Peggy may carry dry goods and groceries between Hull and Gainsborough, because it is for their convenience; but they will cut you off from the blue water, unless you can prove to them that they are to gain by it.

The Differential Duties upon Timber are to make the public pay for bad Canadian instead of good Baltic; and to take from *you* the advantage of your natural position for the Baltic Trade. In other words, people are to be sent to Canada, for you and the public to keep.

Colonies are good, when they are the instruments of a profitable trade; but not when the trade is to be made profitable by taking out of other people's pockets. What would you think of a man who set up a plantation across the Humber, to sell you bad timber at the price of good, and called it a Colony?

The Emperor of Russia is setting up manufactories. Why should he not, when there is a law to prevent him from buying from English manufacturers with what he has got to pay in, and you from being the carriers?

When you are told to give up Foreign Trade lest you should thereby lose your Home, is it not like telling a butter-wife not to bring her butter to Hull, lest she should lose her market at Cottingham? For what conceivable reason does she bring it to Hull, but because the market at Hull is the best?

How are your ships to go from Hull to Hamburgh, or anywhere else, if when you get there and the cargo sold, you are to be told you may vest the return cargo, *in anything but what would pay at Hull?* Corn would pay, and timber;

because they are the things wanted here. And for that very reason an Act of Parliament is made to hinder it.

How are Sailors to live, if Ships are not to bring Return Cargoes?

How are Shipwrights to build Ships, if Ships are not to go?

How are all the trades that live by Sailors and by Shipwrights to live, if Sailors and Shipwrights are to be put down by Act of Parliament?

If it was proposed to rebuild your Old Walls and shut out corn in order to raise the price for those who could grow it inside, is there a man in Hull would believe them when they told him his wages should be raised till he got as much corn out of the small quantity as out of the great? How then is it any more possible, that if the Walls are pulled down again, wages should fall till they give him no more out of the increased quantity than out of the pinched? I should like to see the man in Hull who would be for keeping up the Walls.

If the landowners within the Walls pleaded that the increased price would enable them to increase the quantity of corn by growing it on flag-stones and house-tops, you would tell them that you would at all events have to pay for all your corn at flag-stone price, which means giving the owners of the flag-stones two days of your labour for a gallon of corn, instead of one.

The New Poor Law is a wall built up to crush your heads against; but the Corn Law is what drives your heads against the wall. You would care very little for the wall, if they would not drive you against it by making laws to hinder you from keeping yourselves.

The Factory Child is a miserable martyr to the landlords' love for rents. There are some would relieve it by saying it shall starve but not work; and there are others would help it by saying it shall work and not starve.

That on these points I have fought your battle for Fourteen Years, forms, as said before, my principal pretension to your suffrages.

On the enemies of Slavery I have some further claim, as having been engaged in the war against it since 1808, and as having been instrumental to the first Public Act in which the Slave Trade was written down Piracy.

To the home slavery of Impressment I have been a steady, and in some degree a successful, opponent. The whole question reduces itself to whether the rich are to take the sailor for their wars, without paying him for it.

To the friends of Reform in general, it may be some recommendation, that I have been a constant supporter of the

principles of Universal Suffrage, the removal of Pecuniary Qualifications for Members of Parliament, Equalization of Electoral Districts, Short Parliaments, and the Ballot; and was one of ten members of parliament who assisted in embodying these principles in the document called the Charter. Bating slight shades of difference, which of the Electors calling himself Liberal, disapproves of any of these, or can charge me with having pursued them by means at variance with the public good?

So many of you as think I endeavoured to serve you well before, try to enable me to serve you again.

I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your olden friend and servant,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

Hull, 27 May, 1841.

SAILORS OF THE PORT OF HULL*.

Do not be bamboozled, by those who will do it for you if you will let them.

The duty on Baltic Timber is to prevent you from having Ships built at Hull to compete with Foreigners. If those who keep it on, are not paid by "the Spread Eagle" for it, they ought to be.

Would not Sailors be employed to bring home honest and good Timber, as well as roguish and bad? And would not Hull have the advantage in the honest trade from her natural position with respect to the Baltic, in the same way as the dishonest trade gives the advantage to the Ports on the opposite side of the Island?

If you are told you ought to prefer the trade to America because it is the longest voyage, ask if they think your trade to Memel would be increased by going round by Cape Horn. The question is not which would make the longest voyage, but whether the near voyage or the roundabout would give most trade to Hull Ships in the end. You know very well, your trade to Memel by Cape Horn, would be none at all.

It has been settled this day by the Custom-House books,

* This bill was issued in consequence of one with the same address and containing the expressions marked by inverted commas, having been published by the opposite party, under circumstances of colour and form intended to give it the appearance of proceeding from the Liberal side. And the mode of address thus begun, was continued daily.

that the Ships which entered inwards in the first half of the present year, were less than Two-Thirds of what entered in the first half of the year before. See where these men are carrying you, and where you are likely to be brought in two or three years' time.

"A SAILORS' FRIEND,"

AND NO MISTAKE.

Hull, 19 *June*, 1841.

PORT OF HULL.

Ships arrived from Foreign Ports	
In the half-year ending 18th June, 1840	992
In the half-year ending 18th June, 1841	650
Difference	342

How many years more will Hull hold out against the Corn Laws?

SHIPWRIGHTS OF THE PORT OF HULL.

Are you at any loss to know, why Ships in your Dock-Yards are hardly within hail of one another?

Is not there, first, a Tax upon the Timber you must use? And is not there, next, a Tax to make you use bad Timber at the Price of good?

How, under such Laws, are you to build Ships as cheap and good as Foreigners?

And when the Ship is built, is not every pound of Biscuit and every ounce of Beef that is put on board, made by Law to be double the price that Foreigners have it?

How, under such Laws, are Hull Ships to be victualled as cheap as Foreigners?

But if Hull Ships are by Law to be neither built nor victualled as cheap as Foreigners, is there any wonder that Foreigners do your work?

If there was a Law offering a Bounty on every Foreign

Ship that would take cargo from the port of Hull, it is likely you would grumble.

Have you any the less cause to grumble, as things are now?

You may take all this good Midsummer Day, to find a reason why.

Hull, 21 *June*, 1841.

OPERATIVES.

You have been told that if Corn fell from 60*s*. to 50*s*., your Wages would fall from 6*s*. to 5*s*.

Why should you not as soon believe me, if I told you your Wages would rise from 5*s*. to 6*s*.? And why should you believe either of us unless we can render a reason?

If a quantity of the goods you make is sent abroad for sale (as for instance to America), and a like quantity of equal quality is sent there from Germany, each will sell for the same price, as for instance a Dollar, or Five Shillings.

When the German Master receives his returns, he has to pay, it may be, One Shilling out of the five for the food of the Operatives while they were making the goods; and consequently has Four left for other purposes. But if the English Operative ate exactly the same food, there must be paid for it *Two* Shillings, and consequently the Master has only Three left for other purposes. There is therefore One Shilling Premium, or 33 per cent, in favour of the German Manufacturer, and he must drive the English one out of the American Market.

If then the Price of the English Operatives' Food was reduced from Two Shillings to One, and One Shilling less at the same time paid to the Operatives, the Operatives would be exactly where they were. And this is what the Deceivers of the Operatives call a Reduction of their Wages.

But mark the consequences that must follow. The English Manufacturer would cease to be cut out of the American Market. English manufactures would be sold, where they were not before. The Demand for the Labour of the Operatives must consequently increase; and with it the Price of that Labour, which is their Wages.

Put the opposite case, that the Landowners begged leave to put a Third Shilling on the Price of your Food, but promised to see it added at the same time to your Wages. Is there one among you that would not see that the result must be a di-

minution of Sales, and your Employment and Substantial Wages must consequently fall?

The Fraud would plainly be, in representing the Shilling added to your Wages and at the same time to the Price you must pay for Food, as an Increase of your Wages.

Will the smallest Shopkeeper in Hull put his hand to so untradesmanlike a blunder, as that the Manufacturer can have no interest in the cheapening of Food, except what he is to take out of the Wages?

Hull, 22 *June*, 1841.

MERCHANTS OF HULL.

Why are there Bankruptcies and Failures among you?

Is it not because the Trade to be divided is limited by Law, while your Numbers increase?

The trade is to be limited to what can be carried on in exchange for a given quantity of Corn. Hence Merchants bid against one another for taking lower Profits, as the Operatives for taking lower Wages; and the weakest go to the wall.

The country may possess commercial capabilities for the maintenance of Ten times the Merchants, and Ten times the Population of every kind. But all shall be cut down to the Tenth; the Population in the Poor-House, and the Merchants in the *Gazette*.

Suppose that in old time, Tyre, Venice, or Genoa, had declared they would eat no corn but what was grown in their own Territory. Where would the "MERCHANT QUEENS" of the Mediterranean have been?

You are told not to have Trade, lest at some time it should be cut off. Would it not be as well not to have legs, for the same reason?

Hull, 23 *June*, 1841.

LANDLORDS OF HULL AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Are you simple enough to believe, that you are interested in the suppression of Trade and Commerce by the Corn Laws?

First, admitting that your Rents are raised from £500 a-year to £600. Do you not know to your cost, that if you

have half a dozen Children, there are no means of establishing them in any profitable employment, and you must allow them a Pound a-week apiece to keep them off the Parish? And how much do you gain by that?

And when you die, what is to be done but divide the Family Estate? So that your Children are to be poor Annuitants, and your Grandchildren Paupers.

Depend on it, that under the Corn Laws, the best of us will have Great Grandchildren in the Poor-House; unless we have the right of quartering them upon the public.

But next, What chance is there that your Rents should fall? Does any man believe, that if Hull had leave to grow till it was as large as Liverpool, buying land would not be a good speculation? There might be changes in the kind of produce. Garden-stuff might be grown where now there are Oats. But who would be the worse for that?

Of all Fools, there is none like a rich Fool.

Hull, 24 *June*, 1841.

FARMERS OF HULL AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Is it possible, that you should believe you gain, by preventing Foreign Trade?

When the Price of Corn rises, the Farmer gets nothing but the Pickings. The Landlord steps in and puts the substance into his pocket, in the shape of a Rise of Rent.

The Landlord does not gain, when he raises his Rents from £500 to £600 a-year through the Corn Laws. For while he gains £100 a-year at one end, he has to pay his half-dozen Children a Pound a-week apiece at the very least, to keep them off the Parish.

The same impossibility of establishing Children in any profitable way of life, presses upon the Farmer. He cannot make above one succeed him on the Farm. And if he divides it, his Successors are cut down, first into Cottagers, and then into Paupers.

How much less then can the Farmer gain, when he has not even the advantage of the Rise of Prices, but it is taken as soon as it is worth taking, by the Landlord in the Rent.

Hull, 25 *June*, 1841.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

Are you dull enough to believe, that you are benefited by the Corn Laws?

When Jerusalem was besieged by the Roman Armies, do you think the Men employed to gather Nettle-Tops, and pick Grass for Salads, fared any better than their Neighbours?

When the Manufacturing Labourers are brought to Starvation point, you cannot be better off. For if you were, there would be a rush of Manufacturers or Manufacturers' Children towards your Occupation, till things were equalized.

Nine Shillings a-week are declared in the House of Lords to be good Wages for the support of an Agricultural Labourer and his Family.

And how do you fare upon it? Look at the calves of your legs for an answer.

Hull, 26 *June*, 1841.

LETTERS, &c.

To Mr. James Sinclair, Secretary of the Charter Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

ROTTENNESS OF THE REFORMED PARLIAMENT.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 31st of August, requesting me to be one of the securities required for the prosecution of the petition from Newcastle, I beg to represent that so far as I might be individually an object of dislike to anybody in power, it would lay me under an unfair disadvantage, and hold out something like an additional inducement for the contumelious rejection of the petition. The effect of the law of elections, as established by former parliaments and not altered in the present, is in the first place to make the election dependent on the exercise of bribery and intimidation, and in the next, to provide a vindictive power capable of being used against those who shall appeal to the professed remedy.

I do not speak on either of these points, without some personal experience. In July 1837 I stood for Maidstone. The night before the election, a hundred voters sent to my friends, and stated that they would vote for me for five pounds apiece, and they should ask a Tory eight. I declined; and the consequence was, that on the poll I was 140 behind instead of 60 ahead as would have been the case if I had accepted the offer. Not very long afterwards, another election took place; and though the state of the borough was notoriously as has been described, yet when the Liberal party were unwise enough to make an appeal to the existing law, their appeal was declared by a hostile majority to be frivolous and vexatious, and the individuals who were the securities were subjected to loss, in the same manner that I feel assured would be applied to myself, if I was found in the same position.

On the other point, I have more recent experience still. It is within your knowledge, that I stood at the election of 1841 for Hull. I suppose nobody will dream of denying that bribery the most extensive and orderly, was practised on every side but ours. The Whigs in fact began it as early as July 1839; when they set on foot the plan of purchasing men their freedoms, on their written promise to vote as a named

individual should direct; and the channels, the sums disbursed, (three hundred sovereigns at the first swoop), were all matters of notoriety, and brought before the cognizance of a public meeting at the time. Of course it is not an occasion to be hard upon the Tories for following the example. Rightly does Sir Robert Peel say, "There was something besides the Chandos clause that carried the election at Hull." If he will come to Hull, we will show him to his heart's content; but we have not twenty thousand pounds to dispose of, to bring it to him in the House of Commons and be thrown out by the prepared defences of the law after all. And what remedy have we, supposing we were inclined to try? The law, as aforesaid, has provided that we may bring up the bribed voters one by one at a huge expense, and strike them off, but that no general conclusion shall be derivable against the validity of the election, unless we can put salt upon the tail of the individual who went as a go-between from these men to the principal; and even then, if the principal should be the Carlton Club, it does not appear how our case is mended; or, to take it at the very best, the complaining candidate is not seated, but only sent to have the like process put in operation upon him again. And when we ask to have the strength of bribery and intimidation weakened by the Ballot, the Whigs tell us they will make it an open question as the best means of putting it down; and the Tories call it our "cowardly, mean, lying, hypocritical, sneaking, un-English, unmanly invention," though all the time, the "cowardly, mean, lying, hypocritical, sneaking, un-English, unmanly" lords and honourable gentlemen who tell us so, are using it in their own associations, wherever they feel it to be for their convenience.

The case, in brief, is this;—That the Law was made by our enemies, and we are living under enemy-made law. A Test Act is in force against us, though one by that name is understood to have been repealed. As the Dutch were required to trample on the Cross before being admitted into Japan, so a candidate of your opinions is asked to lay down what he considers as the conscience of an honest man and the honour of a gentleman, before he shall in ordinary cases be eligible, or what comes to the same thing, have a chance of being elected, to a seat in the House of Commons. He must write himself down a scoundrel, or see inscribed upon the door, "Leave all hope to enter here." Or if by some of the uncontrollable chances which the ablest legislation cannot prevent, he should be surprised by success, then the law is that he shall be fined to

any extent which it may suit richer adversaries to inflict upon him by the expenditure of an equal amount of their own; as happened to myself when I was "laid down at the door of the House of Commons" in 1835, and robbed of four thousand pounds as the punishment for having dared to be elected without bribing a competent majority. In these ways combined, we are made not only the Unrepresented but the Unrepresentable. There is a prepared organization of law, for declaring we must "damn our own souls," before we can be, or can elect, members of the House of Commons.

The policy of all this, is evidently in the ancient maxim of "making the war feed the war." The rich are to have the power of laying an elevenfold taxation, as in some instances they do, on the consumption of the poor; they are to stop your trade and say no man shall eat a shilling's-worth of bread without laying down a second shilling towards finding the landlord's concubine in lace, by way of exchange for the *droit de seigneur* of the olden time; and then the pretended representation which is left you, is reduced to a struggle of bribery and intimidation, in order that what they have got they may keep. The operatives and the poor are to be admitted into the constituencies; but it is to be exactly to the extent which the aristocracy can buy with most effect; and every man's bottom is to be bared, for the aristocracy to kick the right man if he votes amiss. Such is the state of law under which you live at present; and by which you must live and die, till you can find the means to alter it.

If in answering a simple question I have been somewhat diffuse, I trust you will see in it nothing inconsistent with a strong feeling of the people's condition, and a strong desire to be assistant in improving it.

Blackheath, 2 *Sept.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. I.

CORN-LAW COMPENSATION.

SIR,—The leader in the *Times* of this morning on the subject of the claims for *compensation* advanced at the Conference at Derby, induces me to endeavour to point out the experimental proof furnished by the leader aforesaid, that a *bounty* on foreign corn, in duration and magnitude equal to

the past duty, is the form in which the demand for compensation is most effective, and least easily opposed.

A tax of twenty millions a-year on the land may be easily represented (as it is the tendency of the *Times*' article to do), as a mere effort to take because there is the power. But a *bounty* carries with it its own explanation. If a landowner exclaims against the horror of so depressing the value of his land, the reply is ready, "Why is it more horrible, than your inflicting a similar depression on the value of our manufacturing capital by a *duty?*" If the bounty is represented as amounting to "the overthrow of the whole landed proprietary of England," this is promptly met by the question, why it should be any worse than "hallooing upon the premises of Mr. Strutt and Mr. Evans, and half a hundred other millocrat millionnaires" with a *duty*.

On one point the landowners are very dense, and they can hardly be blamed for it. They will not see, that the demand for a bounty rests on the ground of a judicial punishment; the same ground, in fact, which justifies the judge in decreeing the deprivation of property against the vulgar depredator on the property of his neighbours. If they plead the suffering,—the very thing intended is that they should suffer. The object, whether they comprehend it or not, is to leave an example, which shall deter future parties from acquiring legislative power, to turn it to the pecuniary robbery of their country.

Blackheath, 14 *Dec.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. II.

A Bounty on Foreign Corn for a Term of Years.—Its Justice and Policy.—Blunder of demanding a Fixed Duty as a Preliminary.

Sir,—I proceed to follow up the subject of my letter in your paper of December 14.

In settling the form in which compensation for the manufacturing and commercial interests ought to be demanded from the landowners, the object is not to determine what would be the snuggest, cosiest, and on the whole the most desirable mode if an Act of Parliament entitled "An Act for Retribution on the Landed Interest" were sent down to us from the Lords, with blanks which we were invited to fill up according to our own choice and judgment of what we should

like best. This would be the error of the Chartists, who say "What would be so comfortable as the Charter? Therefore let us go for it and nothing else." But it is to determine what is the form of demand, which carries with it the greatest probability of practical effect; the effect being after all, to a considerable extent, like that produced by the artilleryman, when he points his gun to a given star, less with the expectation of hitting it, than of hitting something else which he has set his heart upon demolishing.

When the proposal is made to tax the landowners twenty millions a-year, it may be the justest thing in the world, but people do not see it to be so. It may be the most exact measure of retribution, weighed out to an ounce in the nicest scales of political economy, but it does not carry the proof and evidence upon its face. The argument also by which it has been accompanied,—that it would still leave the landowners the richest in Europe,—is of an unfortunate complexion. It is the counterpart of the argument which states, that because Mr. Strutt rides in a carriage, and Mr. Evans is understood to give claret, it is clear they have not been robbed more than they ought to be. It is, in fact, an argument for a Prime Minister. The demand for a bounty on foreign corn, in duration and magnitude equal to the past duties, bears, on the contrary, the justice of its own dimensions on the face of it. It is as difficult to object to on the score of justice, as levying a simple restoration from a thief.

Another objection to the proposal for levying twenty millions a-year by a land-tax, is that the *payment of a land-tax* (notwithstanding what has been lately done, by Mr. Scott upon the question, which, however powerful, cannot have had the effect of removing all prejudices from all minds) is one of the strongholds of the landowners, rather than what they count a weakness. It would, therefore, be running directly upon what they consider as their point of strength. "We are paying one land-tax already," would be their answer, "and you come to tell us we ought to pay another. We think the public in debt to us for what we do, and you chuse this for an argument why our burdens should be increased." There is no use in saying this defence cannot resist the examination of a searching and impartial mind. The question is not of whether an enemy's defence *ought* to be effective, but whether it *will* be.

If the landowners object that a bounty on foreign corn is not, *per se*, in the best style of political economy, but is to a certain extent a throwing away of the natural resources of a

country on the same principles as a *duty*, one answer is, that whenever the landowners shall propose to remove this damage to the community by offering a commutation into a tax on land or rent, there is no doubt that fair terms would be accepted, or even that something would be done towards meeting them, in the way of allowing them a favourable bargain. *But the offer must come from the landowners.*

But another answer is, that it may be maintained with great appearance of justice and of ultimate success, that a bounty of the nature and character described, though in one direction uneconomical or a source of national loss, would more than compensate for it in another direction, by the tendency it would have to recover such portions as might be recoverable, of the trade and commerce of the world, which pains have been taken to cut out of the hands of Englishmen, and a premium given to foreigners for being the instruments. There is nothing like being distinct. The position advanced is, that though a bounty on foreign corn is undeniably a national expense and an outlay, *it is an outlay it would be most wise to make at the present moment, for the sake of the trade and commerce now in the act of expiring, which might be rescued from destruction.* A dram may be in a general way a needless or harmful expense; but if pouring a dram down the throat of a man apparently drowned, will save him and all the posterity that may be in the loins of their father, it can hardly be said to be improvidently expended. The manufacturing and commercial interest demands justice in the shape of this dram. And there is an amazing difference in point of popularity, between a tax to bring corn in, and a tax to keep it out.

Note here, that all intelligent advocates on the side of the manufacturing and commercial interests, know that whenever the change comes, it must be by some kind of gradations. But they know too, that this is no impediment to compensation being afterwards made by a bounty, by gradations of the same kind.

Allow me to notice further, that there may be suspicion of a mistake being abroad, on the subject of the necessity or desirableness of coming to a fixed duty as a preliminary to abolition. It looks like the *bad start* of some not very clear mind, which saw distinctly that to get a duty of 10*s.* and then remove it by two shillings a-year, was one way to remove the Corn-laws, but did not see that the end might be obtained with equal certainty by deducting annually from each grade of the existing scale; which might with equal ease be changed

into a bounty by corresponding steps. Why are we to encounter all the prosing, and all the chances of disappointment and trickery, which may arise out of insisting on fighting a bye battle for a fixed duty as a preliminary? If anybody can show good reasons, let the thing go on; but let the reasons be shown.

Blackheath, 21 *Dec.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. III.

FREE-TRADE CONFERENCES. DERBY.

SIR,—I take advantage of your permission to contribute on alternate days to your columns, to enter into a further examination of the observations of the *Times* on the Derby and Manchester Free-Trade Conferences; and I mean to confine myself principally to one mode of reply, which shall be by constantly supposing that the landowners had worked out their sentence of a bounty on the importation of foreign corn for five-and-twenty years as justice is demanding, and were answering the same arguments, *mutatis mutandis*, in our mouths, against removal of the bounty.

'The statements of the Derby sympathizers go to show that in the manufactures of the midland districts there has been a downward progression, or rather retrogression, for these five-and-twenty years. Does that prove the existing distress of those districts to be the result of the present Corn-law? We should rather think not, inasmuch as the present Corn-law is only of about half that standing.'—*Times*, 14 Dec. 1841.

Fancy the change of positions as described, and "we should rather think" they would tell us, that the difference of time relied on was only a quibble, inasmuch as the law, though not in precisely its present form, had existed for five-and-twenty years and more.

'A more rational inference, we suspect, would be, that the cause of our diminished manufactures is to be found in the pacification of Europe, which, five-and-twenty years ago, set the nations of the continent at liberty to pursue the arts of peace, the developement of their own resources, and the employment of their native industry.'—*Ib.*

Fancy the landowners groaning under a bounty on foreign

corn, as they will be, and told to refer it all to the pacification of Europe.

'If, then, overlooking or neglecting these circumstances, our manufacturers continued to increase their own production, and by invitations of fresh operatives from the country to multiply the numbers dependent on a precarious trade, then, however, we may feel for the poor artisans, however we may regret even the disappointments and losses of the masters themselves, yet certainly we cannot submit our understandings to the delusion now attempted by those masters, nor lend ourselves to the iniquitous project for making up their unlucky speculations at the expense of their neighbours.'—*Ib.*

Their neighbours being us the supporters of the bounty. But let us remember, when the time comes, that "we cannot submit our understandings."

'The plaint uttered at Derby by the midland mill-owners has made itself heard among their northern brethren at Leeds and at Manchester, and they have re-echoed the cry with a shrillness which strikes very sharply on the ear, however little it may move the understanding.'—*Times*, 18 Dec. 1841.

Remember this, when duke calls upon squire for a responsive moan, on the tribulations of a bounty on imported corn.

'The art of the whole is to make truth serve the purpose of falsehood. It is true now, and unhappily it has often been true before, and is likely to be often true again, that the manufacturing districts are in a state of suffering; but it is false that their suffering is exclusively the result of the Corn-laws, and equally false that any material reduction of that suffering would be effected by the repeal of them.'—*Ib.*

Think how magnanimously we will say all this to the landlords, when they tell us that they and theirs would be the better for the removal of the bounty on imported corn.

'The Coryphæus of the meeting at Leeds was a gentleman "of that ilk," named T. Plint. The Plintian syllogism is a little incomplete, being simply this—Corn-laws exist—distress exists—therefore the distress has been caused by the Corn-laws.—*Ib.*

We will parody this argument when the time comes, and say, "The Printing-House-Square syllogism is simply this:—a Bounty exists—less Rent exists—therefore the diminution has been caused by the Bounty."

'The gentlemen who followed Mr. Plint were &c.—the whole of their argument, as disposed of by the two propositions which &c.—first, that the modification, if not the total abolition, of the Corn-laws is requisite, in order to enable the mill-owners, by a reduction of wages, to

undersell their foreign competitors, which has been the cry of the manufacturers.—*Ib.*

On this point the landowners have *hoaxed* the working classes, and the working classes have, to a great extent, swallowed the bait. The landowner doubles the price of bread; which obliges the master-manufacturer to advance the double price, and the operative carries it in his hand to the shopkeeper, who is the receiver for the landlord. And this, says the landlord, is your wages; take care not to diminish your wages! The falsehood is in a nut-shell; it is *not* your wages, it is the tax to the landlord. And the working man that cannot see this when he is told, is fit stuff to fill the cushions that tyranny rests its back parts upon.

'—and secondly, that the Ministerial measure would not have had the effect of lowering the price of bread at all, which has been the doctrine of the political economists. We shall leave the Leaguers to reconcile these various allegations as they may.'—*Ib.*

We shall not let the landlords off the bounty, because they prove that some of the political economists have made simpletons of themselves. Perhaps they were in the enemy's employ. But without insisting on that, there has undeniably been too much done to coax the thieves to come out and be hanged, on the plea that it would not hurt them much. Which will make no reason, why the thieves should go on.

In my next shall be noticed the observations on the Manchester conference, and if room permits, the attention of your readers directed to the impossibility of a government's going on, whose cause has come to be rested on such breaches of the common-sense and justice by which the world, badly as it is, is governed, as the *Times* produces. To which shall be added some further circumstances leading to the belief, that the question of Free Trade is the point on which, in the Cromwellian phrase, our enemies are delivered into our hand, and that here is the place and time for the Liberals to sound the Rally and Re-form.

Blackheath, 23 *Dec.* 1841.

P.S.—I have just seen the letter of Mr. Cobden in the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday. That he claims the twenty millions a-year as due to the state upon the present rental, and irrespective of the Corn-Law, is a new light. *Let us then go for that, and the Compensation Bounty too.* But the last is the best to drive; the other at the same time neutralizing the claim for commiseration on the score of land-tax.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. IV.

FREE-TRADE CONFERENCES. MANCHESTER.—CHARTIST PLAN FOR BUYING WASTE LAND.

SIR,—I proceed with the account in the *Times* of the Conference at Manchester.

'The jobbers who make distress their staple.'—*Times*, 28 Dec. 1841.

But what are they to the jobbers who make the distress that they may live on it?—who keep their coach-horses on the blood of the people, and dress up their wives and daughters on a nation's bread? The fault of Messrs. Brotherton, Thornley, and Cobden, who are spoken of as if they were individually something not to be set by the side of a robber of the soil, is that they have not bought their places in parliament with money picked from the people's pockets, through the fraudulent rise of rents. Rob Roy in his cups, spoke so of Glasgow websters.

'One would imagine that nobody but the members of a certain high aristocracy could be landowners in England—that nobody but yeomen born could farm the soil. If, in the long run, the profits of the farmer or of the landowner paid a better interest for capital than the profits of the trader or manufacturer, does anybody believe that capital would not flow toward the land until the level was restored.'—*Ib.*

A mere money fraud, which every banker's clerk ought to be able to expose. The dishonest gains are all to be paid for in the price charged; hence no rush can take place towards such bargains. If the landowners were to pass a law that all consols now in their hands should for ever be paid 30 per cent interest instead of 3¼, this would cause no rush to the purchase of such stock from them; and for the simple reason, that it would all be charged for in the price. If landlords (as is urged somewhere else) can only get 3 per cent on the price of land, this proves, not that the landlords may not have raised the value of their land by robbery a hundred-fold, but only that the profits of other people, and the use to be had for money in general, are reduced by the consequences of the landlords' robbery till men are glad to lodge their money where it will pay them 3 per cent.

Never forget that we have a government whose continuance in office is pitted upon establishing monstrosities like this.

'But if the trader and the manufacturer, calculating that in the long run their profits will remunerate them for their risks and losses, chuse to continue their own business year after year—ay, and to increase the scale of it by fresh building and machinery—let them not, after a series of lucrative seasons, which have filled their pockets, complain of the balance of affairs, and try to throw all the loss upon others who have never speculated for any of the profit.—*Ib.*

See how we will retort all this, when the time comes that the agricultural interest are begging for a merciful release from the bounty on foreign corn. Why should not they stop their cultivation at the point which is for our interest? Remember again, that we have a government dependent on establishing the principle of this.

'A monopoly is an exclusive right of sale; which no class possesses.'—*Ib.*

A money fraud again. A monopoly which can only be partaken of by purchase from a class at their own price, is a monopoly to that class.

'What the agricultural class *does* possess is a protection for the commodity it produces, and the manufacturing classes have a corresponding protection.'—*Ib.*

The manufacturing classes know, that when an article is bought at a higher price than needed, on the pretext of protection, there is a national loss in the aggregate equal to the difference of price. And they know that two blacks do not make a white,—still less two losses a gain. They know, therefore, that a government which should pretend to set off loss against loss, and call it compensation, would be fit only for a den of thieves.

'There is a strange want of sequence in the proceedings of these League conventions. When a number of powerful masters have met together to confer upon the disastrous state of their district, and have called in their "reverend" coadjutors to back their announcements of distress, one is prepared to expect among so many rich gentlemen, that the charity sermon will be followed by a collection on the spot. But he who expects that conclusion from those premises is destined to a sad disappointment. There is no plate at the door.'—*Times*, 21 Dec. 1811.

Hold the plate at your own door, thieves. Make what you can out of the petticoats you give away at Christmas, while you rob all the rest of the year; but do not insult us with a demand to keep your victims. The man who gives a shilling

in the way of public charity on landlord invitation, unless it be in some of the modes which have been invented for impressing on the receiver that the landlords' robbery is paid by others in his stead, is a dupe and a simpleton.

Seriously, let us look into this pretence of charity. Fancy ourselves part of the victims in the Turkish frigate, where the captain went to sea with a third of a stock of water, and then sold it to his prisoners. Then fancy a Turk, in flowing robes and with the best of perfumed tobacco in his pipe, proposing to help the evil by a scheme of charity. Would it not be plain, that all it could do would be to relieve some of us at the expense of some of the rest, and as the brutes who were above us would always take care of themselves, it was only to be taken from one of the sufferers to be given to another? So much for the "charity" device.

'There is no end to the complaints made at these meetings of the rapid strides by which the continental manufactures are advancing in the continental markets. Our northern mill-owners appear to think, that however odious monopoly may be in the case of other people, they themselves are entitled to the monopoly of the whole trade of Europe, and that if, in the general march of improvement, other nations step in to share what, until the pacification of 1815, was enjoyed exclusively by English capitalists, the cotton lords have a right to complain of the movement as an injury, and force an indemnity from their own countrymen.'—*Ib.*

We ask for no protection from anybody abroad, we ask for protection from robbers at home. What the thieves call paying an indemnity, is *giving up the road.* But let us lay this by, against the time when the landowners are begging for removal of the bounty on foreign corn,—or we never shall have the impudence to use the argument. Remember always, that a government is pitted on establishing the principle.

'There is so much in all this which smells of fraud and force that we have little time to notice mere blunders. Else, what a lecture might be written to these ignorant writers, for the sake of their ignorant readers, on such an axiom as is contained in the passage, "A heavy land-tax would not be felt by industry!" If a tax of four shillings in the pound were assessed upon the landowner, would he discharge no servants, domestic or predial? Would he and his family leave no chasm in the industry of the cabinet-maker, the coach-maker, the tailor, the mercer, the bookseller, and a hundred other tradesmen, and (through them and theirs) in the industry even of the coarser manufacturers.'—*Ib.*

"Blunder" in your own pocket. If you were to propose to encourage thieves, for the sake of the thieves' expenditure,

would not you be told directly, that the expenditure of the money by the honest men was just as good as by the thieves? And so it is here. Either the government that expends the land-tax after it is taken, or the honest classes who are relieved from taxation if that is the process pursued, will spend the money with just as much advantage to the rest of the community, as if it was filtered through the pockets of the landed thieves.

'We only doubt which is the greater villany,—to speak and write these things with an expectation that they will actually do their criminal work, or to speak and write them in the cowardly persuasion that better men will take care they shall come to nothing.'—*Ib.*

Rob Roy banning against those who will finally put down him and his. See if you are not ground small, when the gods get you into their mill at last.

Surely, if there be truth in history which tells us that a certain degree of rottenness has always preluded a fall, it is impossible that a government whose existence is pitted on the maintenance of such enormities as these, can keep its place. Anybody may see, that as Marlborough once said before an action was well begun, "They *must* go off, they *must* go off." Let us then take heart of grace, and see only to taking care that we make a better "bob" of it, when we "bob it again."

But there is another reason for hope and elevation at this moment. The kettle which was tied to the tail of the Charter under the title of Chartism, has burst, and out rolled a Bubble Company. The plan was not the rude one for the division of lands, which the carelessness of its preachers sometimes left it to be taken for; but something more curiously unreasonable. The assertion might seem to savour of the discoveries which come from time to time from Ultra-Protestantism in Ireland, if the evidence was not here in print to back it. The use to be made of political power when it is gotten, is to be to take a Hundred and Twenty Millions sterling of the public money, on the slender pretext that a parliament is to see to the division; Twenty Millions of this are to be given to the landowners *for the lands for which nobody will give anything now*, and the remainder is to be served out at the rate of a hundred pounds apiece to the privates of the force, and they are to pay rent and interest for this land which will pay nothing afterwards if they like. Individuals will naturally look for increased advantages in proportion to their services; and Whig or Tory Commissionerships are

hungry pickings, compared with what may be looked for from this job of jobs. Of course these new landowners are to feel no interest in removing the Corn Laws; but on the contrary, to screw them up as long as another drop can be extracted from the national cow. Hence the hatred with which opposition to the Corn Laws has been received by the expectants.

For this plan, comparable to nothing but one for taking the public money to buy the rotten herrings which the present fishermen can make no use of, commercial and manufacturing industry is to be stopped by law, and a Chartist-made famine inflicted upon all except those who are living on the strength of their hundred pounds. For this the labourers were taken under the muskets of the soldiers at Newport and left there, and the good sense of the working classes diverted from the finest opportunity ever presented them of raising themselves in political importance. The hand of the landowners is visible in the whole. The plan is not for advancing the Charter, but for making any advance towards the Charter impossible; you may tell the contrary to the marines, but the sailors will never believe you. Not that the landowners absolutely calculated on setting up their new allies in power, though at the worst twenty millions for their unsaleable lands was not so bad. But portions of the working men were to be encouraged to play "lower orders" for the aristocracy's benefit, and like the negro of the American stage, display the character in every light which could be opposed to the emancipation of their class. They were to make everybody their enemies, and themselves ridiculous in the doing. They were to exhibit the grotesque spectacle of men exclaiming against "class legislation," and proceeding to demand one of their own, the first step of which was to be to take a Hundred and Twenty Millions from a struggling public, by a bolder sweep than has ever been attempted by any class but one. They were set upon working over again all the exploded fallacies of the landowners, and adding new ones of their own, discreditable equally to the intellect and to the virtue of the working classes whose name they were to take. But while they were thus driven against the stone wall of every man's enmity and every man's interests, they were to perform the service to their lords and masters, of staving off the demolition of the system of monopolies by which the oppressive aristocracy support themselves upon the public. They might have gone on longer if they would have let other people alone; but when they apply foul terms to men for daring to preach anything

but this which they have never consented to nor understood, they force inquiry into the basis of their Rotten-Herring Company. The Charter for ever; but down with the scheme for sacking a hundred and twenty millions of the public money to begin with!

For this advance, the Giver be praised. It is another step towards the movement sensible men contemplate.

Blackheath, 25 *Dec.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. V.

TIME FOR A FORWARD MOVEMENT OF THE LIBERALS.

SIR,—Allow me to follow up the expediency of arranging a general forward movement of the Liberals on the basis of the Freedom of Trade, by insisting on two or three points strongly tending to recommend such an operation.

First, That the Liberal party at large have no prospect of success but by setting up some great and stirring object, which shall aim directly at the sources of the hostile power by which they are oppressed. The time is gone by when a Tory Ministry could be ousted upon a point of etiquette. It must be a question of justice or no justice,—freedom or no freedom. It must be a question competent to rally one portion of the nation against the other, and give the honest men the victory. The game of the opponents is to make the war keep the war; in plainer terms, to rob in order to bribe. Like those that drain a bog, we must go to the spring which is at the bottom.

Secondly, That supposing them to have ever such good and sound ground to fight upon, there is no use in their attempting any struggle, unless they can screw up their souls to the determination to bid highly to the "Slave Class" for their assistance. That the slave class will not move without, may not be wise, but it is in "human nature." Such young politicians as they, cannot be expected to act the part of old diplomatists., All the good in the world might be ready to drop into their mouths, and they not open them unless they were to be paid for it. Do the Liberals want help or not? If they do, they must give the popular battalion some object for marching which it can understand, without asking whether there are fifty reasons why it should march without. Not one of them but knows individually and

personally, that if he was beaten at the last mock Election it was because he had not the Working Classes and the Ballot. And yet these men higgle about what they shall bid.

Lastly, to the populars. If they were old diplomatists, as they are not, they would simply ask themselves the question, whether they should be better for the breaking down of the Trade and Food monopolies or they should not. It is true, attempts have been made by the engines of the monopolists to persuade them they would not, just as attempts have been made to set them against the Ballot, in the full knowledge that where the people had a penny weight of influence through the open voting, the monopolists had a pound; which may now be reckoned among gone-by mummeries. But if they should determine that they would be better, the question instantly becomes independent of how much gratitude, how much good faith, or how much virtue of any kind, they are to find in the middle classes. Put the case that all these were absent in the highest possible degree;—that the middle classes were curious in displaying themselves in every discreditable light. Still it would be the part of a child and not of a man, to take pet and quarrel with the cake that could be had, on pretence of being afraid of being deceived in the expectation of some other. The part of wise men would be to take what can be got, whether the middle classes cheat or not; and to take as much in the way of gratitude or justice from the middle classes, as Heaven shall send besides. In fact this terror of being cheated by the middle classes, may be set down as one of the suggestions of the enemy. Its object is to hinder us from taking what we may secure, whether the middle classes prove themselves gentlemen or not.

Permit me to take the opportunity of assuring the working classes, that nobody has a worse opinion of dependence upon other men's gratitude or virtue than myself. As a proof of it, they may some of them remember, that after the sort of movement towards the working classes which appeared lately to proceed from Manchester, I took the earliest opportunity, at Huddersfield, of saying, "Blessed are they that expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed!", and begged, of all things, not to be considered as among the chargeable for any disappointment which might ensue. But I did my best to impress at the same time, that this was no reason for not walking in at an open door, or for refusing to take the good the gods provide us in one direction, for fear of failure in some other.

And now, to revert to the general subject,—Look at the position of the Minister. He is pitted to the support of

a string of the most obvious, glaring, insulting fallacies by which one man ever attempted to take another's money in this dubious world;—falsehoods which come home to every man's bread-basket and store-room, and break in upon every little trader's hoarded notions of prudence and integrity. How is he to get out of the scrape? Either he knew what he undertook to support, or he did not. If he knew, then why is he to be tolerated longer than any other man who has attempted a public injury and failed? If he did not, then what claim has a man so far behind the knowledge of his age and time, to set up for a ruler in a free government, though under any imaginable quantity of apologies for his insulated ignorance? The Minister has had one five months' delay already, on the ground that he had not come to the knowledge of whether robbing a man hurt him or not. Surely he will not have another, however when beaten he may declare himself to have gotten light during his period of incubation. There never was a better board; if only the old Mar-alls could be prevented from having more than a reasonable finger in the game.

Blackheath, 27 *Dec.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. VI.

MR. CHRISTOPHER'S PLAN OF CORN LAWS.—PROSTRATION OF INTELLECT OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS.

SIR,—The persuasion in some quarters increases, that Mr. Christopher's speech discloses, or at all events approximates to, the intended proposal of the Minister on the subject of the Corn Laws.

The substance of Mr. Christopher's plan, as stated in a journal on the same side of the general question, is "that he would have the price of wheat fixed as nearly as possible between 50*s.* and 65*s.* the quarter. This end he would secure by a *minimum* duty of 5*s.*, the quarter on wheat, when the price reaches 65*s.*; and as the price falls, by increasing the duty to a *maximum* of at least 20*s.*, at most 30*s.*" The speaker, however, is not responsible for the invention of a *maximum* which shall have a *least* and a *most;* for on reference to the report in the *Times*, what was said is stated to have been, "that he cannot say whether it ought to be 20*s.*, 25*s.*, or 30*s.*,

until he has positive and authentic information as to the quantities and the prices at which such quantities could be purchased abroad."

The brief method of reply to this seems to be by asking, why the manufacturing and commercial interest should not be found demanding to keep the price of wheat fixed as nearly as possible between 26*s.* and 35*s.* the quarter; which end they would secure by a *minimum* bounty of 5*s.* a quarter on foreign wheat when the price fell to 26*s.*, and as the price rises, by increasing the bounty to a *maximum*, which they will settle at 20*s.*, 25*s.*, or 30*s.*, when they have positive and authentic information as to the quantities and the prices at which such quantities could be purchased abroad.

It is difficult to see how this *lex talionis* is to be attempted to be parried, except on one ground; which is that the landlords, being in possession of the legislature as they have been to the extent of an exclusive test, have taxed themselves in such a manner as to make it imperative on them to recover part in a mode which inflicts a hundred-fold loss on the community.

And here the war shall be, not with the landlords, but with the men calling themselves political economists. Can there be wonder at the low estimation in which that name is popularly held, when there is found among them a prostration of intellect sufficient for giving way, knowingly or unknowingly, to such an enormous proposition, as that any legislators can possess a right like that supposed? Imagine the case to exist in its simplicity, and without a suspicion of ill intention of any kind; and what would be the conclusion, but that such legislators should be cashiered and the public mischief removed, by the quickest process known to the community? Would a single individual of any kind be found to maintain, that such a blundering self-sacrifice presented any claims to the perpetuation of the public loss?

One point in the speech I take the liberty of noting. The speaker entirely goes with me, in the belief of the indissoluble connexion between the Corn Laws and the present ministry, intimated in the last letter you did me the honour of inserting.

Blackheath, 30 *Dec.* 1841.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. VII.

THE "FIREBRAND QUAKER" OF BRIDGEWATER.—THE TORIES ARE GIVING US THE STICK.

SIR,—My duty as a good partisan, being not to see the enemy careless in his posts and parties without turning it to account, I take advantage of the looseness of some of his movements, to try to advance the object of calling on the Liberals, in various quarters and by their various interests, to lift up their heads and unite on the question of Free Trade for a general move.

The subject which now presents itself, is an article or letter signed "No Magistrate," in the *Times* of 31 December. To whatever extent a leading ministerial paper by chusing an article for insertion adopts it and makes it part and portion of the policy it maintains, to that extent the contents are appealed to as if they were promulgated by the government.

A "firebrand Quaker" as he is called, a borough magistrate, at Bridgewater as would appear, is charged with exhibiting a placard in his window at the last election with the following.—

'Are the poor to pay 9*d.* per loaf, and the rich landowners to pocket the tax of 3*d.*, which they invariably do? Or are the poor to pay 6*d.* per loaf, and the Conservative landowners to lose the 3*d.*?'

In immediate juxtaposition to which, is the following commentary.—

'Could this proposal for confiscating the whole rental of the kingdom —for making the landlords "lose" all, and falsely representing that all to be four times as great as it actually is—could such a detestable proposal possibly proceed from a person "admitted on all hands to be fully qualified for the commission of the peace"? Surely it may be safely left to any honest man in the kingdom, whatever his politics may be, to determine on the qualification of this firebrand Quaker for the magistracy, who at a period of general excitement could exhibit to the public so monstrous a lie—a lie, too, so likely to delude and infuriate the people. Can any respectable man doubt for an instant that the exhibitor of this infamous statement was utterly disqualified for any office which required a respect for truth and a reverence for the lives and property of his neighbours?'—*Times* 31 Dec. 1841.

It is one thing to enjoy the elegant amusement of calling a Quaker a liar, and another to answer to a man's own party for having given the opportunity to an adversary to invite

public opinion to determine, whether the honest Quaker was not proceeding in a course as consistent with religious principle, and with the duties imposed on him both as a citizen and as a magistrate, as if he had chosen to demonstrate his zeal against any other of the forms of evil-doing which are rampant in society.

May this crocodile to Quakers have been imposing on the ministerial organ, and after all be some wag of the League, aspiring to boast that he attacked the landowners through the columns of the *Times*? The position he has fixed on them is this,—that *all* the rental of the kingdom is taken through the operation of the Corn Laws;—that the Corn Laws are an invention for creating a class of men to be called rent-owners, who otherwise and by the unaided course of nature would never have existed;—that they are a contrivance for causing a public loss, of dimensions with difficulty assignable or calculable, for the single object of giving a limited and easily calculable amount out of it to a happy portion of society the law creates for the express purpose of being the recipients.

The League never said so much, but the *Times* has. And for any nice questions of authority, the *Times* must settle them with its correspondent.

Meantime the assertion in the honest Quaker's window stands out avowed, defended, adopted, transferred to the hearts and heads of all in the country who to honesty join a certain quantum of intelligence.

Combining this with the other portion of the Letter, which is on the *coup d'état* for creating Tory magistrates, may we not hope that the united effect will be to raise up a spirit of individual determination in the places which have been the scene of operation, the end of which will be to promote the feeling of a general necessity for union on the question of Free Trade, as the means of driving out the common enemy. When the Neapolitans misbehaved, somebody said they must have more of the Austrian stick. The Tories are giving us the stick.

Blackheath, 1 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. VIII.

Ten Hours' Factory Question.

Sir,—After the amusing description which has been given of the interview of the Ten Hours' Deputation with the Minister, it remains only to anticipate the time when the manufacturing capitalists shall present themselves to the Grand Vizier of the hour, with a corresponding request to have the evils of the agricultural management looked into, and repressed by the strong fingers of the law.

When this time comes, how pathetic will the remonstrants be, on the evils physical and moral, which always arise from agriculture, where the manufacturing interest has not a controller on the spot. To say nothing of the toils of harvest-women, and the total absence of care for the fingers of female and infant weeders when the thermometer is below 40, the moral view alone will be terrible and sad. Our popular poetry is full of little but the moral dangers inseparable from the encouragement of an agricultural population. The bush, the brake, the "rigs o'barley," and the "rushes green," have each their several temptations, leading all one way, and calling for pensive reflection on the legislator and the parish-officer. Shall there be no balm for this, while an active superintendence on the part of a moral and religious manufacturing public might do so much to prevent the apprehended evils? Why not appoint an inspector of hay-fields? Do the landlords properly box off all dangerous places? Are these matters to be left to adjust themselves; or ought the law to interfere to ensure the doing right? The requirements of humanity imperatively demand it.

The landlords may find out some time, that it is just as easy for one set of men to plague and vilify another, as was the converse. Of course it will be understood, that if the question has been treated here with levity, it was in the full persuasion that what is called the Ten Hours' question, after making the needful reservations for well-meaning blunder, is a fraud directed to the preservation of the evils it pretends to remedy, and by the active operation and encouragement of those who made and maintain the evils for the sake of their own personal and dishonest gain.

Blackheath, 3 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. IX.

IDENTITY OF THE TEN HOURS' DEPUTATION, WITH THE CHARTISTS OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

SIR,—It may be something to know, that the plan proposed to Sir James Graham by the celebrated Ten Hours' Deputation, is intrinsically the same with that which has been so vigorously paraded by the section known by the name of the *Northern Star* Chartists, in opposition to the removal of the Corn Laws.

Here follows, first, the proposal of the Chartists as taken from pages 21 and 22 of the Pamphlet entitled "'The Land' the only remedy for national poverty and impending national ruin; how to get it; and how to use it." Sold by J. Cleave, Shoe-lane, and by all booksellers, price twopence. And afterwards, the proposal of Messrs. Fleming, Hobson, Leech, Crabtree, and Brooke, as extracted from the *Times* of Jan. 4, 1842.—

'—my Lords and Gentlemen,—I am nothing daunted; and shall, therefore,—proceed at once to my purpose, which is to apply details to your principle of reclaiming waste land. Of that land you have in Great Britain and Ireland more than fifteen millions of acres capable of reclamation. It at all events can scarcely be called your own, and is therefore out of the Newcastle principle of doing what you please with it. By its proper appropriation you not only do not suffer damage, but on the contrary, I propose to do for you what you cannot do for yourselves: to make it valuable. I estimate that land at a rent of one shilling and fourpence per acre. I calculate that each acre in the out-set, taking the tenant's house and stock and means of subsistence till the land is brought to bear into account, would require somewhere about seven pounds per acre, or a capital of about one hundred pounds for every fifteen acres. The fifteen millions acres allotted in farms of fifteen acres to one million heads of families, would thus require a capital of one hundred millions of pounds sterling to aid the working communities in their work of reclamation.'

'The value of those fifteen millions of acres, at twenty years' purchase, at a rent of one shilling and fourpence per acre, would cost government £20,000,000.'

'Now what I propose is, that government shall purchase the lands from you, say at that rate, and then, under proper official management, at the head of which should be a Cabinet Minister to be called the Minister of Agriculture, lease those lands at one shilling and fourpence per acre, in lots of fifteen acres, with a capital of one hundred pounds advanced to each tenant, subjecting the tenant to a rent of five pounds per annum for the land, and the interest of one hundred pounds at four per cent, that is one pound for land and four pounds for interest.'

'This sum of £120,000,000 I propose to consolidate into one national

fund, which shall stand as a mortgage upon the fifteen millions of acres, and over which the Parliament alone shall have control; and that it shall not be a transferable stock, or a stock allowed to be made the medium of exchange, barter, or traffic in the Jews' temple; but that the government shall merely be agent for the fund-holder and fund-payer—receiving from the one and paying to the other.'

'I propose that after the first eleven years the tenant shall yearly pay ten pounds in liquidation of his debt; thereby liquidating the whole amount at the end of the next ten years, or with the twenty-first year of his tenancy; at the close of which period—twenty-one years—I propose that the tenant shall pay no more than the original chief-rent, of one shilling and fourpence per acre, and all local taxes; or a pound per annum for his holding for ever and ever, and Amen—until some future generation, in its wisdom, shall see the State necessity of making the then occupiers—(themselves being parties)—pay something more as their quota of any national requirement.'—*The Land &c.* By Feargus O'Connor, Esq., p. 21, 22.'

Here follows the Deputation's version; which, according to the Roman general's simile, is the same pork with a little difference in the dressing.—

'Sir J. Graham.—What would you recommend?

'The Deputation.—The adoption of a comprehensive and efficient plan of home colonization; for which purpose we would advise the passing, at the expense of the nation, of a general waste-land inclosure bill, which should make provision for reasonable compensation to all those interested in these lands. We should then have a Parliamentary grant raised by loan, or by Exchequer-bills, to be applied under a board of control to the settling down upon these uncultivated but improvable wastes our now unemployed population; and if the waste lands were insufficient we would recommend that the Government should have recourse to the Crown lands for the same purpose and in the same way. This would increase real wealth at home, direct the energies of the people in the first place to provide food and shelter for themselves, and the surplus of their labour would form a fund for defraying the necessary expenses and ultimately repaying the principal advanced.'—*Times*, 4 Jan. 1842.

It is impossible to let the Deputation go, without a point-blank denial of some of the principal positions, which they seem to think their own declaration sufficient to impress on the undisputed belief of all human beings.

'The Deputation proceeded to say, that according to the arguments presented in favour of the policy of causing the operatives to be dependent on a foreign market for employment, it was admitted that our ascendancy in those foreign markets could only be kept up by a continuous cheapening of the cost of production. How was that to be effected? It could not be done by reducing much lower the wages of the adult operatives. That class of labourers were as near the bare "subsistence level," when in full employ, as it was possible to place them. The only way, therefore, to do it was by still

further displacing these adult and comparatively high-priced labourers by self-acting machinery, or machinery so contrived that what little attendance it might require would be that of women and children, and as little even of that as possible; and thus we shall come to the same result. The great bulk of the labouring classes would be thrown idle, whether we extended or restricted our foreign trade under the present direction of machinery.'—*Ib.*

It is *not* admitted, but on the contrary strenuously denied, that "our ascendancy in foreign markets can only be kept up by a continuous cheapening of the cost of production." We want to have as our fathers had, the power of enjoying those branches of trade and manufactures for which the country has natural advantages, without being checked by legislative restrictions. It is *not* admitted, but strenuously denied, that the only way to preserve our markets is by the substitution of women and children for other labourers. We want to have those markets from which we are hindered by the tax on food, and nothing else. It is *not* admitted that the bulk of the labouring classes will be thrown idle under the present direction of machinery, whether we extend our foreign trade or restrict it; for it is contended on the contrary, that the superior power of inventing and working machinery, is what God has given us as the means of holding our ground in the honourable competition of nations.

When the landowner finds his efforts bounded, he does not bethink himself of contenting himself without them, nor of going to Prime Ministers to represent that there would be no use in making him further openings because steam ploughs would swallow up the difference. But he goes straight to the pockets of his neighbours, and takes out of them what shall make both ends meet. And this it is, whether they know it or not, that the Deputation are working to conceal.

Blackheath, 6 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. IX.

The Siege of Bolton.

Sir,—I have been at the siege of Bolton; for nothing but some such cause suggests itself as adequate to the phænomena. And is it not a siege? not carried on perhaps by an enemy within gun-shot, but by one working on a wider radius, and making his blockade by sea upon the means of life.

Many sights it has been my chance to see, and I think I know what is the minimum of help with which horse, ass,

dog, hog, or monkey can sustain existence, and where it must go out for want of the appliances and means of living. But anything like the squalid misery, the slow, mouldy, putrefying death by which the weak and the feeble of the working classes are perishing here, it never befell my eyes to behold, nor my imagination to conceive. And the creatures seem to have no idea of resisting, or even of repining. They sit down with Oriental submission, as if it was God and not the landlords that was laying his hand upon them. And when their honourable representative in parliament gave description to their sufferings, "liar" was the best word applied to him by the organs of the tyranny.

Did you ever set eyes on a pennyworth of mutton? Come here, and you shall see how rations are served out under the landlords' state of siege. It might bait a rat-trap; though a well-fed rat would hardly risk his personalities for such a pittance. Pennyworths of mutton, and halfpenny-worths of bread cut off the loaf, are what the shopkeepers in Bolton deal out to the inhabitants of their Jerusalem. I saw a woman come for one halfpenny-worth of bread, which was to be the dinner of herself and children twain; and when I reflected that of this transparent slice, the other half was gone to buy the landlords' claret, astonishment possessed me at the endurance of that bearing ass the public, and the extent to which ignorance and divisions will prop the rich man's robbery.

I saw another mother of a family, who said she had not tasted meat for many months; and on one of the children being sent off to the butcher's for some of that strange luxury, she was discovered making efforts to intercept the messenger. Her anxiety was to instruct the boy to bring back nothing but one pennyworth of bacon; there was a tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow, for which she had conceived the idea of spinning out existence by means of the remainder of the fund.

If you are curious in human misery, if you are anxious to know what a shabby tyranny can bring the rank and file to suffer, come at your leisure to the "leaguer" of Bolton, and see what the people sleep on, if they do sleep. Chopped dirt, the sweepings of a hen-house mingled with a proportion of sparrows' nests to show that men had heard of straw, would be the best representatives of what they huddle upon in corners and call it resting. And all this because Sir Having-Greedy votes in the House of Commons for closing honest trade as the means of doubling his rents.

I have not heard of any women in Bolton eating a child. They do not look eatable. Disease, either active or in waiting,

is in their faces and in their limbs. A decent hyæna would not take the trouble of "enticing them into the woods and then devouring them." And this is what the English and their families have come to, to keep their aristocracy in coach-horses.

The Minister meanwhile and his associates, are racking their tender "hearts" to find a remedy. As in O'Connell's celebrated story of the horse, "*Will they try corn?*" They will try anything, except allowing the sufferers to keep themselves; for that would interfere with the plans of those, who being rich already, use their riches as the means of doubling them by confiscation of the poor man's bread.

There is danger in these schemes. Already people of all kinds are parodying the sentiment of the Italians, "*Ad ogni uomo puzzica questo barbaro dominio;*" which may be translated for English use, "Neither man nor woman will endure this dynasty of clod-hoppers." It wants nothing but for the privates of the regiment to know what hurts them, and to get rid (as they are doing fast) of the various false lights thrown out to induce them to run in every direction that will preserve the evil; and a quicker end than pleasant, may be put to mischiefs, which nobody would remove by an earlier application of the prudential virtues.

Bolton, 7 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. X.

A Minimum of Wages.—Its Effects.

Sir,—Opinion creeps slowly on, and there is nothing like giving it from time to time a fillip, by taking a new step into the region of the unstirred.

A little time ago you inserted for me an inquiry into what would be the result in a landlord-ridden country, of everybody (saving always the continuance of the landlords' tax) being taken with the determination of giving away all they had in charity. And we came to the conclusion, that it would be of exactly the same effect, as giving away in charity in a ship kept purposely at sea and short of water.

I now want to know, in the same manner, what would be the effect of the other nostrum so amiably recommended by the monopolists, and so kindly gulped down by their gulls and agents among the working classes; which consists in the manufacturing employers agreeing to give their workmen any sum it might be convenient to assign in the shape of wages?

It may be said that this would come under the old head of charity. And so it would, if carried to the extreme of the imaginable. But without waiting for this, it seems to admit of an earlier solution. Suppose then it was enacted, that no manufacturing employer should offer an ordinary adult male operative less than twenty shillings a-day, and others in some defined proportion; and that by the erection of a guillotine or otherwise, men were made afraid to resist or evade the law. How would the matter solve itself?

Would it not be thus? The masters would cut down their operations to such a portion as could be carried on consistently with twenty shillings a-day to so many as were employed. And the *difference*, would be dismissed from employment. The result, therefore, to the working classes, would be something very like one man in six having six pounds a-week, instead of six having a pound apiece; with all the chances of further reduction in the numbers of the paid, consequent on the diminution of the trade.

If the guillotine was set to work to oblige the masters to pay twenty shillings a-day to as many as chose to ask for it, then the question would come very near to the case where men without a guillotine were supposed to come to the resolution of giving away all they had in charity. Heads or no heads, the thing could go on no longer than till the masters had nothing more to give. And then the scheme must end in the discovery as before, that in a ship short of water nothing can mend the matter but going where water is to be had.

I know the nervousness of the public when they hear of guillotines; and purposely incur the evil for the sake of noting, that as in France the people, with less chance of knowledge, and therefore more excusable, tried all manner of follies in the way of making bread by blood, in our country it is the owners of the soil who set up the machine,—and a cruelly blunt and slow kind of death it is from what I see of it,—by which the public is to be wrought into subjection to the quackeries of the greatest dunces that ever ruled in an industrious nation.

A member of the Chamber of Deputies concluded every speech on every subject, with—*liberté illimitée de la presse.* In addressing commercial men and bread-eaters, it might be excusable in the same way to wind up every argument, with the one word of *compensation.*

Manchester, 8 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XI.

Corn-Law Protestantism.

Sir,—The author of a keen and trenchant octavo of four pages, entitled "A Letter to Wilbraham Egerton, Esq., by a Member of the Anti-Corn-law League," has forwarded to me as *pabulum* for our correspondence, a Letter to the same quarter in reply, which he informs me, I imagine upon public notoriety or report, is the production of a reverend orator of "over-good Protestant" celebrity.

As the orator, about the period of the late elections, was pleased to pick me out for less of marked civility than it would be my desire to bestow on an individual of opposite political opinions, there appears no powerful reason why anything like a self-denying ordinance should be passed on the present opportunity.

And first, I feel taken with a fit of Protestantism, which forces me to protest against a writer's signing himself "An incessant, laborious, and withal a happily contented Operative, in my lawful calling," if the fact is, that he is a vigorous ecclesiastic looking perhaps to lawn sleeves. Without contesting whether this was meant to deceive, it *does* deceive. Before being introduced to the reality, I had met with well-meaning citizens, whose minds were racked with the idea that a letter of dreadful import had been written to Sir Wilbraham, which had caused the dumb to speak in the person of an operative torn by imperious patriotism from his loom. And small in comparison would probably have been the alarm, if the reverend person in question had been known to be the trumpeter.

The object of the Reply, so far as it is compressible, appears to be to confound bad laws and no laws, and make the first to pass under the terror of the other. "*Tom*, and *Dick*, and *Harry*," are lectured on the dreadful consequences of having no laws at all; and then they are expected to go home, and be heard praying for the preservation of the squires and the Corn Laws. *Harry* is touched also on the subject of his wife; in the hope that in some way he will identify her with a tax upon his bread. Law, we are assured, involves Order; and the Infidel and the Anti-Corn-law League desire Equality. From which it is presented to the working classes as a ne-

cessary corollary, that the squires should have a duty on foreign corn to keep it out, and not the industrious classes have a bounty to bring it in.

The French Revolution is referred to, both by the first letter-writer and the second. By the first, as holding out a lesson to those who perseveringly oppress; and by the second, to those whom any possible oppression shall drive into resistance. Certain unknown horrors to the wives and daughters of the French, over which "history draws a veil in trembling agony," are mainly relied on for the interest of the tragedy. Is not the real fact, that the ultimate consequences of the Revolution, through many sufferings, have been to raise the French people in the scale of comfort and happiness, to an extent of which the less is said the better, in countries where the power of the church and aristocracy is yet unchecked?

If the Anti-Corn-law League have no "metal more attractive," they could not do better than publish both sides of the correspondence with which the lord of Tatton Park has, *malgré lui*, been favoured.

Blackheath, 13 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XII.

THE MINISTERIAL ORGAN ON THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

SIR,—The leading daily organ of the ministry this morning contains an uncivil attack upon the King of Prussia; whose intended visit to this country is evidently viewed with jealousy and dislike.

Ought not this to be sufficient for a hint to the Anti-Corn-law League or whomever it may concern, to take such measures as upon counsel shall be found best adapted to the case, for issuing a respectful Address to the Royal guest, which whether it reach his eye directly or through the intervention of other eyes, shall constitute a Manifesto on the question of Free Trade as it involves the common interests of all nations and governments?

Blackheath, 15 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XIII.

Follies on "Machinery."

Sir,—In a late conference with some of the working classes in one of the manufacturing towns, it was ascertained from them that the following was among their articles of faith; so far at least as a derisive hum on its being submitted as doubtful, may be considered as evidence.

"That if a stop were put to the use of stamps or machinery in printing cottons, the same quantity would be manufactured as at present, and the working classes employed to paint them all by hand."

When a prime minister makes his stand on the evil of Machinery, the operatives must not be questioned too narrowly on the use they have made of their opportunities of knowledge. But the inference from the wanderings of both will be, that this will make a fine subject on which to overturn the general Alliance of the "Extinguishers" whether rich or poor within our land.

Blackheath, 18 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XIV.

Proposed Address of the Anti-Corn-law League.

Sir,—The leading Ministerial organ protests it was not he; it was "the matronly." It is hard to settle such differences; the probability being, there was a little of both. One thing is clear; that jealousies are felt in one or more portions of the Tory camp, at the visit of the King of Prussia. And a single word in the protest alluded to, is decisive of the reason why. An error is dreaded somewhere, which is to consist in taking certain events or things to "imply a political predilection for Prussian opinions on matters of *commerce* and administration." And as nobody supposes the danger of anti-liberal opinions on commerce to be the subject of alarm, it must needs be the danger of liberal.

Suppose then the Anti-Corn-law League or a Delegation

from it, were to present themselves to the King of Prussia and to say—

"Persuaded that your Majesty will lose no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the progress of opinion in the country which you visit, the representatives of an extensive portion of the commercial classes in Great Britain, present themselves as the advocates of principles which your Majesty will assuredly not hear from the administrators of the government."

"Seeing in your Majesty the sovereign of a foreign state, they are conscious that as citizens of a state which is foreign in respect of your Majesty's dominions, they are bound to advance no arguments but those in which they believe the interests of all independent countries to be equally concerned."

"What they would announce as the belief of the commercial classes of Great Britain, or such portions of them as they represent, is that no commodity is ever created in one country, when it might have been obtained at a cheaper rate from another country through the intervention of commerce, without incurring a national or aggregate loss, equal to the difference of price concerned."

"They know how far they are from the probability of seeing a government in their own country, by which this arithmetical truth shall be admitted. But they do not despair of gaining supporters in other countries, where the frame and organization of the government have been less expressly directed to the suppression of the principle."

"The ground on which the remonstrants rest their conviction of the fallacy which now governs nations, is that there has been an overlooking of one of the parties concerned. Every consumer who gives three shillings to a home fabric, for what he might have obtained through foreign trade for two, takes the third shilling from the custom of some honest trader, to whom it would have been precisely as beneficial as to the dishonest. This honest trader, is the man who has been overlooked. And, setting off his loss against the other trader's gain, the final result is that the consumer gets *nothing* for his shilling, instead of what he might have had for it from this honest trader. It matters not within what circle, national, colonial, or federative, the folly takes its range; he who rejects a cheaper road by foreign commerce, courts aggregate loss to his community, and not gain."

"The French government has invented a term for the prosecution of this national loss. It styles it 'conquest.' The

remonstrants believe, that it is such conquest as a cultivator would make out of his fen or his sand, by expending his resources on them with the consequence of leaving uncultivated a corresponding portion of his better soil."

"Resisting the admission, that a trade on which there is a loss at every turn, is gainful to a nation, the remonstrants equally resist the delusion which has been attempted on them under the name of 'Reciprocity.'"

"They know that if a foreign government would remove the impediments to the introduction of British commodities, at the same time that the home government would remove the impediments to the introduction of foreign produce, the advantages to the inhabitants of their own and of that foreign country, would on each side be two instead of one. And they are well aware that two governments actuated by zeal for the interests of their respective nations, might employ the contemporaneous removal of restrictions on the two sides, as a powerful machine for diminishing the opposition on both. But they absolutely and totally deny, that the inability to obtain the gain which would arise from the removal of foreign restrictions, is any reason for preserving the loss which results from continuing those at home. They know the mockery this may meet from the interested; but they look into their ledgers, and they find that it is true."

"In all countries, there are proverbial expressions for that species of revenge a man takes for his sufferings, where the consequences of his anger fall on his own proper person. The remonstrants believe, that when a government shall be found sufficiently intelligent to disavow this proverbial impolicy in the matter called of 'Reciprocity,' it will take the lead among the commercial states of Europe, and justly claim the pre-eminence, which a man with one eye is said to have among the blind."

"The certainty that your Majesty will not hear anything of this nature from the government appointed to watch their interests, is the reason of the remonstrants taking the liberty to introduce it in the present form. If they shall have succeeded in their desire to involve no principle which is not common in its operation to independent states, they will rejoice in having discharged a courtesy, which the position of your Majesty as their nation's guest, appeared to call for at their hands."

I should like to know, whether something of this kind, would not be very germane to the occasion, and be a fitting

use to make, of what the Tory vessels have permitted to leak out.

Blackheath, 20 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XV.

Ministerial Projects.

Sir,—It is interesting to watch the inclinations, or as the French would call them the *velléités*, of the existing administration, as displayed in their leading organ in the press.

On Thursday it issues a lengthened dissertation on the merits of the rotten or nomination boroughs, and the desirableness of restoring them; moved, no doubt, by reflection on the specimens of the results of that kind of thing, exhibited in the present House of Commons.

'If ever a time shall arrive when the people understand their own real interests, they will call for some amendment of the Reform Bill large enough to modify the monopoly which local influences at present enjoy, and to open avenues through which Parliament may again become accessible to acknowledged talent, though unconnected with any particular county, city, or borough. It is quite true that this can be done only through the medium of some sort of nomination.'—*Times*, 20 Jan. 1842.

Note here, first, the wish of the government avowed, to undo the Reform Bill and return to the rotten boroughs; with the consequent necessity for a move in the contrary direction when it can be compassed. And next, that the object is to make "avenues," for more of the gifted men, with whom the House is already partially supplied from the source in question.

But, oddly does the subject blossom for the intended fruits. The next words of the ministerial oracle, are these.—

'A hundred seats, taken from the districts newly enfranchised by the Reform Bill, and from towns which like Norwich and Nottingham, and Sudbury, and Leicester, have long been notorious for their wholesale prostitution of the right of voting, would go far to restore the equilibrium of the constitution, and to redress the complaint that the Governments of our time are not compounded with a sufficient leaven from the untitled classes.'—*Ib.*

Not a word here of "avenues." This is simply a proposal

for cutting off a hundred seats from the popular representation. As the Roman poet says, ' When you began making a cream-jug, why did you end in a slop-basin?" Was it that you felt afraid to press the rest? Or that, like the Irish servant in the story, you were willing to take the brandy while the rum was getting ready?

The next day produces a fierce invective against the manufacturers, for not maintaining the agricultural population the lords of the soil discharge from their estates. The landowners are to starve them, and the manufacturers to keep. And if they decline, they are threatened with the vengeance of the landlords' law. *What next?*

The same paper presents a clue to an important point. The landed tyranny hangs only by the support, some of it real but a great deal more fable and smoke, which it has contrived to get up among the working classes. The bribe of a hundred millions, with twenty more to the landowners, though never intended to be carried into effect, is doing its work for the present. Every kind of man who has a fraud or an absurdity to sell, is crowding the antechambers of the existing ministers. It is with the working classes must rest the question, of driving the whole herd violently down a steep place into the sea.

Blackheath, 22 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XVI.

"Ten Hours' Depútation" Political Economy.

Sir,—What is to be done with a leader of the people and of a Deputation to Sir Robert Peel, who seriously maintains that the landowners are making nothing by the Corn Laws, because they can get from twenty-five to thirty years' purchase for their land when they chuse to sell? Of course the argument would have been trebly strong, if the rate of profit to be made by other people with their money, had been reduced so low as to make the thirty a hundred.

"These be your gods, O Israel!" Firmly believing that in the main, without pretending to the faculty of discerning spirits which would authorize a judgment in an individual case, the Ten Hours' Deputation is a weak invention of the

enemy, I feel pleasure in anything which may help to expose the flimsiness either of master or of man.

Secrets ooze out. In the last *Leeds Times* you will find on the authority of a letter from the Continent, that the King of Prussia had expressed *a desire to promote a freer commercial intercourse.* Hence the discourtesies.

Blackheath, 25 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XVII.

Sir James Graham's Declaration.

Sir,—It appears that Sir James Graham, one of the Ministers, told the "Short-time Deputation," that "one thing was certain, that we must lay aside the notion that we could ever again become the workshop of the world."

By what particular feeling or quality of the human mind as ordinarily constituted, must this declaration be supposed to have been dictated? What it bears on the face of it, appears to be of this kind. "We the predominant party in a great manufacturing and commercial country or what might have been, have for six-and-twenty years been doing our best to check its progress in those directions. We have levied a tax from the community, the effects of which have been sedulously directed to giving a premium upon foreign manufactures to the depression of our own. We now rejoice to say, that the result of our pains has embodied itself in the complete and unassailable superiority of the foreigner. We have reached the haven of our wishes. We have prevented the country from rushing into the commercial supremacy it was in danger of; and we now exult in seeing the cause of apprehension permanently extinguished, in the extinction of the temptation. We trust to hear no more of this romantic attachment to trade; and the ground on which we rest our confidence, is that the heroine is cut up and made into a pie."

If this is not the meaning of the Minister who for our sins assists to rule us, *what is?*

Blackheath, 27 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XVIII.

PROGRESS OF INFORMATION IN THE AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS.

SIR,—The place from which I write, affords evidence of the progress of information on the question of the Corn Laws. The centre of an agricultural district, which is moreover the seat of some peculiar monopolies or attempted monopolies of its own, it has still been penetrated by the advance of knowledge, and though the "pagans" of the villages may continue in something like the darkness of Thomism, the "oppidans" have the acuteness to know their interests and to maintain them.

In the first place, it is clear they have scouted the delusion, which in some situations persuades the tradesman that it is necessary the agriculturist should rob in order that there may be somebody to buy. Your Maidstone tradesman cannot tell why the money should not as much be there to buy, if it was left in the pockets of the rightful owners. He doubts the inference, he demurs to the necessity, so convincingly evident to his non-representatives in parliament, that there must be cow-stealing in order to make beef. He would be content to eat his beef at first hand; and knows not how the passage through the fingers of the lordly reiver, improves either the flavour or the price.

But he sees more than this. He has his eyes open to the way in which meat is not only stolen but lost. "I take three-and-sixpence a week from the working classes," said a vendor of the unenumerable things called chandleries, "where if the Corn Laws were away I should take ten shillings." No use in telling this worthy tradesman, that the less there is to eat the richer we are. If this man could be pitted against the Minister, the result would probably be like what took place at Lancaster, when the "Manchester man" rolled in upon Lord Stanley like the barley cake in the vision.

Maidstone, 28 *Jan.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XIX.

Prospects of Reform.

Sir,—As the time has arrived when your columns must be cleared for the efforts of our senators to increase rents and make a little nation of a great one, our correspondence cannot be better wound up than with a few guesses at coming prospects, for the benefit of those who may agree.

We shall probably both of us confess to a non-comprehension, of the policy of those, who considering the present House of Commons unlikely to yield the abolition of the Corn Laws, are determined to try whether it will yield the Charter. But these matters are not for us or anybody to direct; they are of the things which Epictetus called not "within a man's compass," and therefore to be taken easily though they amounted to roasting in a slow fire. It may however be permitted, to speculate on consequences.

It is understood the Abolition of the Corn Laws is to be rejected with mirth. Of course the mirth will be more "fast and furious" when our tacticians ask for the Charter by way of a diversion. But the substantial results will be to come.

Will not these be, First, To bring over the thinking part of the Unrepresented to the belief, that because they have no political power and want to get it, is the very reason why they must work by getting somebody who *has* political power, to act in a direction which shall be in the interest of both; and Secondly, to force a great number of those whose zeal for the extension of political power was previously not much, into operating in that direction, in consequence of being cut off from the direction they would have preferred?

It does not follow that this is the best turn that could have been given to the thing, if anybody could have turned it as he liked. But is there not promise about the turn, seeing it would come of itself?

Blackheath, 1 *Feb.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Free Trader.

No. I.

THE DOG IN THE MANGER.—LIGHT NO FIRES, BUT SET RIGHT THE POLE.

SIR,—As the time approaches for the operations of the Anti-Corn-law League in the metropolis, it becomes important to look the circumstances in the face, under which it is to act. And as there is generally little difficulty in procuring full effect to what is favourable, the inspection may be confined to what is of an adverse tendency. And here the difficulties incurred, have proceeded mainly from the inability of men to stick to a point. Like the sportsman in the fable, no sooner is the woodcock within range of their piece, than they see a snipe, and so miss both. Other reasons have probably concurred, on which time will throw more light. The course of many whose good intentions cannot be questioned, has been inexplicable and strange. Why when a number of men of different general politics had combined for the removal of a commercial evil, individuals who had further expectations of political advantages from the result could not let well alone, and abstain from anything which might be reasonably construed into unfairness and breach of contract,—is among things to be lamented but not explained. If a mild Tory, or timid Whig, had stood up and said, "Now I know very well, that if I join in this plan on your invitation, it will not be many months before some of you will stand up in our own hired room, and propose the transfer of our means and influence to the advancement of some question in which I do not agree," —he would probably have been told it was not fitting he should express such suspicions of his neighbours. And yet this is the thing that was. Other lettings-down there have been, equally unaccountable. A religious and political journal, in which great confidence was felt from the known energy of that peculiar combination, has made the discovery of great mischief in the demand for compensation; without observing, that the charges of "insincerity" and "deceit" brought against that mode of action, even on its own showing, are applicable with the same effect, to a demand for simple abolition which is to end in producing a lodgement in "a fixed tax of 2*s*. 6*d*." The course this should impress on the sincere opponents of the Corn Laws, is simple and plain; it is to rise in their demands for compensation,

and make it a reality if it was not before. Experiment has proved, that this has been the effectual stirrer of the public mind; and, as such, it is natural it should be opposed. In spite of sneers, the fact always was, that there were some who for a dozen years had called for compensation, and many who did not; and now, the latter must come over. But the grand discovery is announced, that the agitation against the Corn Laws must be changed into one for universal suffrage. Because it is judged unlikely that the present House of Commons will repeal the bread-tax, it is to be asked whether it will equalize the representation. When there was some obloquy attached to sticking by the working classes in defiance of their errors, these daring personages were no where; but now, it appears, the idea is abroad of something to be gained by trying to stop a successful movement. With just as much show of reason might the Association for the Abolition of the Slave Trade have been asked to pause in the middle of its course, on the assurance that it was demonstrated there was no use in its operations till the attainment of universal suffrage as the instrument. If this would have been babyism or insincerity, so is the other. And what is most pitiable is, that the time should have been selected, when the working classes were fast coming back from following the enemies' lead; when the cry for universal suffrage and nothing else, had solved itself into putting them upon a hopeless insurrection and an attempt on a hundred and twenty millions from the public purse; and when they were finding out the paltriness of the argument, that they must not attack effects but causes, which might as well be applied to make a man refuse to light a fire at Christmas, and resolve to proceed against the primary cause of cold, which is the "push askance" the angels gave the pole. But so it is; one bucket goes up while another goes down. The working classes have gained knowledge by experience, and it seems there are others who must go through the same process. In the mean time, let those who have an appetite for the practicable, and whose love for the picturesque does not demand a constant transfer to a distant prospect, hold together in the conviction that these signs are all nothing but the concomitants of an advancing cause.

Blackheath, 4 *Feb.* 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XX.

The Minister's New Sliding Scale on Income.

Sir,—There has sometimes been a mistake in crying out against the idea of a permanent Income Tax as a measure of finance, on the ground of the inequality of its action upon perpetual and temporary incomes. On examination there would appear to be no cause of complaint on this ground. The man who has a thousand a-year for ten years, is taxed, say 3 per cent, for ten years; and the man who has a thousand a-year for himself and representatives for ever, is taxed 3 per cent by himself or representatives for ever, which is exactly in the proportion of the absolute value of the properties. The complaint therefore ought to be, not that the tax falls unequally, but that it falls equally; and it should come under the head of the injustice of laying as much per-centage on small properties as on great.

But widely different is the case, when it is systematically proposed to levy a sum by an Income Tax limited to a term of years. The Minister refuses to liberate industry and commerce as the means of enabling us to meet his demands for money, and insists on keeping down both for the benefit of the landed aristocracy. And how does he propose to supply the deficiency? By an Income Tax so contrived, that where industry and parsimony may be taxed one per cent on what they possess, the landed proprietors shall be taxed one-ninth per cent. It is to be another Sliding Scale for the benefit of the landed interest, varying so as to throw as much as *nine times* their per-centage on the property of men of the industrious and commercial classes.

The thing is matter of arithmetic. The present value of an income of £100 a-year at 4 per cent for three years is £277 10*s*., and of £100 a-year for ever, £2500. According to Sir Robert's new sliding scale, the man or family who may possess £200 a-year for three years, is to pay £18 out of what is of the total value of £555, and the Duke of Cleveland is to pay the same sum of £18 out of what is of the total value of £5000. The Duke therefore is to pay a less per-centage than the other, in the proportion of 555 to 5000, which is less than 1 to 9. This is the extreme case; and there are others of all kinds of intermediate proportions in the slide.

It does not require much effort to see, that the incomes

from manufacturing and all other industry, come to a great extent under the head of temporary. A manufactory which now produces £1000 a-year, is never such a provision for children as landed property of the same annual amount, nor could it be disposed of for the same sum in the market. In most cases it dies with the father; and in the smaller manufacturing incomes, and the professions generally, the dependence on the life and health of the principal is still more palpable. The one great species of property therefore, which Sir Robert's scale is meant to shield, is property in land.

Two questions arise hereupon.

1. Will no man in the House of Commons move as an amendment, that the proposal to lay a per-centage on landed property, amounting to only a fraction of the per-centage laid on other kinds, and to tax some of the industrious and poor at nine times the rate of some of the powerful and rich, is a defiance of every rule of justice, and an insolent attempt upon the patience of the country?

2. Will the middle and commercial classes find out or will they not, that a Dutch burgomaster under the heel of Louis the Fourteenth or Charles the Second, would have had as much chance of being able to take care of himself, as the industrious classes in Great Britain under the existing mode of election to the House of Commons; and that this can never be a country for them to live in, till they alter it?

Blackheath, 21 *March*, 1842.

To the Editor of the Free Trader.

No. II.

UNFAIRNESS OF A TEMPORARY INCOME-TAX.—NINE TO ONE ON THE PROPERTY OF THE INDUSTRIOUS AND POOR.

'We have said, however, we think enough to show that a graduated income-tax would change almost every man's position; whereas the only just burthens are those which are borne by society altogether, without any disturbance of the *relative* position of its members.'—*Standard*, 18 March, 1842.

SIR,—Such is the declaration of the Tory Journal; and such was the declaration of the Tory Minister, when he rejoiced with joy exceeding at bringing forward a proposal for a tax which would press equally on all classes.

And now to see how this prognostication is fulfilled. The man who may be possessed of £200 a-year for three years,

being of the total present value of £555 at 4 per cent, is to pay out of it £18; and the Duke of Cleveland or Buckingham, for every £200 a-year to him and his representatives for ever, being of the total present value of £5000, is to pay the same sum. The per-centage therefore on the property of the man or family that possesses the £200 a-year, is to be to the per-centage on the property of the Dukes of Cleveland and Buckingham, as 5000 to 555, or something more than *nine to one.* This is the Minister's equality of pressure. This is the *Standard's* system for saving society from disturbance in the relative position of its members.

And truly a most effectual way it is; being no more than another version of the old feudal rule, that

> 'They should take who have the power,
> And he should keep who can.'

That the rich should make the poor and middle classes keep them by artificial regulations, and pay the taxes for them at a per-centage of *nine to one*, is assuredly a way to prevent the rich from being shaken in their *relative position.* As somebody said of a quack medicine, "If treacle and water will not sweeten the blood, what will?"—so if this will not make the rich richer and keep them so, *what will?*"

I see myself poked at sometimes in the House of Commons, where it has been by other people's pleasure and not my own if I cannot answer for myself. But in this there is no inducement to mince matters with the landed interest, who are at the bottom of this new scheme of tyranny and fraud. Half the paternal property which was left me, the landed interest, directly or indirectly, have deprived me of. About a third of this half, they may have appropriated to themselves, and spilled the rest by the way. I therefore unceremoniously pull them by the coat-tails, and tell them I hear my money rattle in their pockets. They did it by the unhandsome method, which would have been scouted in any assembly of working men in town or country, of allowing none to be on the jury that did not swear to an interest in the cause. Depend on it, they get from me no "honey-mouth."

The working classes have been sorely let down, by the numbers who have run into the first enemy's device for leading them astray by the hope of pillage. And now the sectaries are deserting, under the temptation of what they are to get by battling Mother Church with the Chartists instead of the Corn Laws. But in all this, we have suffered only what is common to man. Can we be dispirited, when we have a Minister who throws together such rich materials for our

progress, as a Sliding Scale for laying *one-ninth* of other people's burdens on the Landed Interest, in addition to our earlier acquaintance the Sliding Scale for maintaining them out of our bread?

Blackheath, 22 *March*, 1842.

To the Editor of the Sun.

No. XXI.

OPPONENTS OF THE CORN LAWS, AND THE INCOME TAX.—EFFECTS ON TEMPORARY INCOMES.

SIR,—The opponents of the Corn Laws have lost their tide, by not setting their machinery in motion everywhere against the Income Tax during the recess. After they had been borne down by superior numbers on as much of the question as had then developed itself, it was a perfect god-send that a Minister should bring forward an unpopular tax so contrived as to be only a codicil to the refusal to repeal the Corn Laws, and a prolongation of the general principle of removing taxation from the landed interest to lay it upon industry.

That such a proceeding on their part would have been assailed by their external and internal enemies on the pretext that Income was not Corn,—or that the selfish and absurd portion of the working classes who have done their best to establish their incompetency to making a component part of any attempt for the advancement of public liberty, would have raised the howl against the middle classes which the Minister intended,—were consequences to be calculated on, but not necessarily reasons to decide.

At this moment, symptoms of resistance to the Income Tax are accumulating in every direction; and it is easy to see how much all movements of this kind would have been advanced, if the ready-made machinery had everywhere been applied to prompt and to assist.

Though the best of a tide may have been lost, it depends on what there is to do and the promptitude in doing it, whether substantial use may not be made of what is left.

Why should not every meeting to be holden on the subject of the Corn Laws, direct its proceedings against that particular form of the general principle, which has been presented to us in the Income Tax?

Blackheath, 4 *April*, 1842.

P.S.—Allow me to take the opportunity to return to the subject of a former Letter, which was the effect of the proposed

Tax, on property derived from temporary incomes. The question is complicated, and therefore a fine hot-bed for deception to sprout in. The best way will be to suppose a case. A few days hence some member of parliament will object to the levying a nine times greater per-centage on the smaller property; and a Minister will rise and say, "Honourable gentlemen on the other side have admitted that they do not mean to press for a graduated income tax; yet the honourable gentleman founds his complaint on one being the smaller property." And then he will turn round to his little boys behind, and bid them holla. How will you answer this? it is a very tolerable fallacy, which is more than can be said of all which proceed from the same source.

The answer seems to be, by distinguishing between two different demands. One demand, which everybody makes and which is made now, is that the property worth in round numbers £1000, shall not be assessed in the same total sum as the property worth £9000, but shall be assessed in at all events only one-ninth of the sum. Another demand, which is *not* made now, but which a people wiser and stronger would insist on, is that the property worth £1000 should be assessed in *less* than one-ninth of the sum demanded from the property worth £9000. And the business of the Minister is to confound the demand that is made, with the demand that is not.

ADDENDA. GEOMETRICAL.

To such as may have taken interest in the geometrical speculations dispersed in the present work, parts of what follow may be acceptable.

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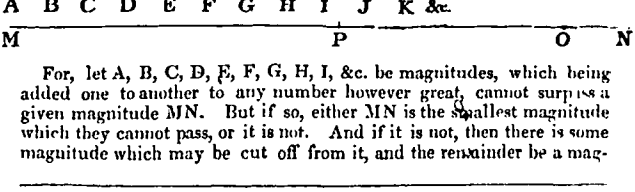
1. If there be magnitudes which, being added one to another to any number however great, cannot surpass a given magnitude*; these magnitudes cannot be all equal to one another.



For, let A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, &c. be magnitudes, which being added one to another to any number however great, cannot surpass a given magnitude MN. But if so, either MN is the smallest magnitude which they cannot pass, or it is not. And if it is not, then there is some magnitude which may be cut off from it, and the remainder be a mag-

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* If evidence is demanded of the possibility of magnitudes which being added one to another to any number however great cannot surpass a given magnitude, the simplest instance is that of the magnitudes in the series $\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{4}+\frac{1}{8}+\frac{1}{16}+$&c. Suppose there is first given to a person the *half* of some particular thing; then the *fourth* (which is the half of what was left); then the *eighth* (which is the half of what was left, again); then the *sixteenth*; and so on. It is plain that what this person has received, is increased every time. But it is also plain that it can never amount to the whole thing or 1, for there will always be a piece left; still less can it ever surpass it. And if each successive magnitude, instead of being *half* of the preceding, was in any other constant proportion of minor inequality, (as for instance $\frac{99}{100}$ths), it would be equally true (though not so easily proved) that the sum could never surpass some given magnitude.

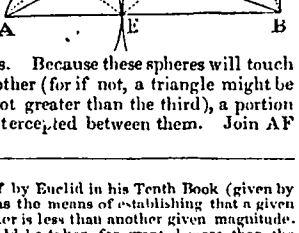
Hence to show that a magnitude will receive perpetual additions, is no evidence that it will ever arrive at a specified amount. Both mathematicians and political economists have fallen into errors for want of attention to this.

nitude which they cannot pass. Wherefore there will be some remainder MO such, that it is a limit which they cannot pass, but if any smaller magnitude be substituted they *shall* pass it (for if they would not pass such smaller magnitude, the difference might be cut off); still more shall they pass half MO. Let then a certain number (as for instance A, B, C, D, and E) be the magnitudes which are together greater than half MO; or of which the sum MP, is greater than PO. Because A, B, C, D, and E are together greater than PO, they are together greater than the sum of all the other magnitudes F, G, H, I, &c. however many, which may be taken afterwards; still more are they greater than the sum of only an equal number of those magnitudes. But if the magnitudes were all equal to one another, the magnitudes A, B, C, D, and E must be together equal to the sum of an equal number of the magnitudes which should be taken afterwards; and they are *not* equal to this, for they are greater. The supposition therefore cannot be true, or the magnitudes A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, &c. cannot be all equal to one another.

2. Any given magnitude may be multiplied [*that is to say, magnitudes equal to it may be added one to another*] so as at length to become greater than any other given magnitude of the same kind which shall have been specified*.

For if not, this last would be a magnitude which they cannot pass; and consequently (by the preceding) the magnitudes would not be all equal to one another. Which cannot be, for they *are* equal. The supposition therefore cannot be true; or the magnitude is not one which they cannot pass. That is, they *may* be added one to another so as at length to become greater than it.

The straight line is the shortest between two points.



For, let AB be the straight line between the points A and B, and take any other line ACDB between the same points, either in a plane or not. In AB take any point E which is not crossed or otherwise passed through by the other line; and with the radii AE, BE describe two spheres. Because these spheres will touch one another in the point E and in no other (for if not, a triangle might be described of which two sides were not greater than the third), a portion of the line ACDB, as FG, will be intercepted between them. Join AF

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* This is taken for granted without proof by Euclid in his Tenth Book (given by Simson at the beginning of the Twelfth), as the means of establishing that a given magnitude may be halved till the remainder is less than another given magnitude. Though there is no reason why one should be taken for granted more than the other.

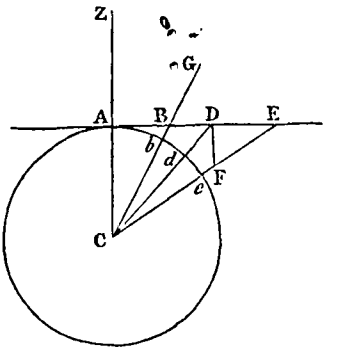
and BG, and let the straight lines AF and BG be applied to their equals AE and BE, the portions of the line ACDB which have the same extremities being at the same time brought into the situations AcE, B*d*E. Because the lines ACF, BDG are together less than the line ACDB (for they are less by FG), the line Ac*E*d*B* which is equal to them is shorter than ACDB. And in the same manner to every other line between A and B which is not the straight line AB, may be shown a shorter.

But of the lines of various lengths which can be described between A and B, some (one or equals) will be shortest. And that to which a shorter can be shown, is not shortest; therefore none which is not the straight line AB, is shortest. Therefore the straight line AB is shortest.

The tangent of any circular arc is greater than the arc.

For, let a straight line of unlimited length touch the circle at A, and in the circumference take any two contiguous and equal arcs *bd*, *de*, which are such that the radii drawn to their extremities, being prolonged cut the touching straight line as in B, D, E.

Because CBE is not an acute angle, it is the greatest in the triangle CBE, and CE which is opposite to it is greater than CB. From CE then cut off CF equal to CB, and join DF. Because in the triangles CDF and CDB, CF is equal to CB, and CD common, and the angle DCF equal to DCB; DF is equal to DB, and the angle DFC to DBC. Therefore the angle DFE is equal to DBG (for they are the supplements of the last); and because DBG is the exterior angle of the triangle BEC, it is greater than DEF, and consequently DFE which is its equal is greater than DEF. Therefore DE which is opposite to DFE, is greater than DF which is opposite to DEF, and than DB which is its equal. And in like manner in every other instance.



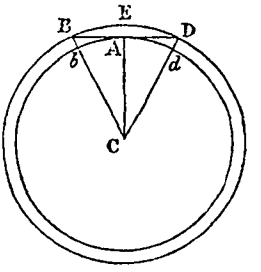
Wherefore if a straight line of unlimited length CZ be made to revolve uniformly about C in the direction of E, its intersection with the straight line AE shall move along that straight line with a continually increasing velocity. For if there were any interval of time in which the velocity did not increase, it must be divisible into two equal and successive intervals, in which equal arcs were described along the circumference of the circle, but of the distances

described along AE, the distance in the last interval was not greater than in the first; which, as shown above, cannot be.

But when the revolving straight line passes through the point A in which the touching straight line and the circumference of the circle coincide, the velocity is one and the same along both. Since then the intersection with the touching straight line continually increases its velocity, while the intersection with the circumference does not; of any lines severally described by them in the same time, as AB and A*b*, the first will be the greater.

The circle of greater radius has the greater circumference.

For, let the circles be placed so that their centres coincide; and at any point A in the circumference of the inner circle, let a straight line be drawn touching the circle and prolonged both ways till it meets the outer circle in B and D, and join those points with the centre C.



Because AB (by the preceding) is greater than the arc A*b*, and AD than the arc A*d*; BD is greater than the arc *b*A*d*. But the arc BED (by the next further preceding) is greater than BD; still more then is it greater than the arc *b*A*d*. And because the whole circumferences bear the same ratio to one another as those arcs, the circumference of the outer circle is greater than of the inner.

END OF VOL. VI.

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